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KSHETRESA CHANDRA CHATTOPADHYAYA
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Pt. 1

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PREFACE

Pt. K. C. Chattopadhyaya, one of the most brilliant students of Dr. Ganganatha Jha, joined the University of Allahabad as Lecturer in Sanskrit in 1924. In 1950 he was promoted to Readership and from 1956 for about a couple of years he acted as professor of Sanskrit. As the Director of Research at the Sanskrit University, Varanasi, he was in a position to guide research exclusively—a subject which is dearest to him. As teacher his reputation has always been very good and he enjoys the affection of all those who had the good fortune of sitting at his feet. He was a beolved colleague of mine at the University of Allahabad till the date of his retirement and we have had the best of relations more as brothers than as colleagues, as both of us are the pupils of Dr. Ganganatha Jha. Pt. Chattopadhyaya was not able to produce as much in the academic world as was hoped for and expected from him. He is an idealist and the dictum that the best is the greatest enemy of the good holds true in the case of Pt. Chattopadhyaya. He was always after the best. During the reeent few years he has been keeping very bad health. This prevented him from completing several good things that he has in his mind. Pt. Chattopadhyaya is one of those few teachers in this age who inspired every young man and young woman that come into their contact. Pt. Chattopadhyaya's scholarship deserves recognition and the present volume is a small token of the great regard in which his colleagues, students and friends hold him. It was at the 24th session of the All-India Oriental Conference held at Varanasi in October 1968 that the idea of presenting a felicitation Volume to Pt. K. Chattopadhyaya was mooted and an Editorial Board was formed with the following members : Dr. Adityanatha Jha (Chairman), S/Shri S. C. Deb, Gaurinath Shastri, S. P. Chaturvedi, Aryendra Sharma, G. R. Sharma, G. C. Pande, A. D. Pant, U. N. Tiwari, Vidya Niwas Misra, T. R. Tiwari, T. R. Chopra (Members), and S/Shri M. P. Lakhera and L. N. Tiwari (Secretaries). In bringing out this volume Drs. Aryendra Sharma and

M. D. Balasubrahmanyam of the Ganganatha Jha Kendriya Sanskrit Vidhyapeetha and S/Shri M. P. Lakhera and L. N. Tiwari rendered considerable help for which I express my sincere appreciation and thanks. Later on it was at the instance or Dr. Aditya Natha Jha, the youngest son of Mm. Pt. Ganganatha Jha and one of the distinguished pupils of Pt. Chattopadhyaya, that the Rashtriya Sanskrit Sansthan, Ministry of Education and Youth Services, Government of India, agreed to the wishes of the Editorial Board and recommended to the Ganganatha Jha Kendriya Sanskrit Vidhyapeetha that Volumes 27 (Pts. 3 & 4) and 28 (Pts. 1-4) of this Journal be brought out as Pt. K. C. Chattopadhyaya Felicitation Volume. The Board of Editors is also grateful to the contributors of the Articles in this volume.

3, Bank Road,
Allahabad, U.P.,
20.3.72.

BABU RAM SAKSENA
Chairman,
Editorial Board.

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BIO-DATA OF KSHETRESA CHANDRA CHATTOPADHYAYA

Pt. Kshetresa Chandra Chattopadhyaya of late Sri Atula Chandra Chattopadhyaya and Srimati Surasundari Devi, of Village Nimta, District 24 Parganahs of Bengal, was born on October 27, 1896, in a family of Kulīna Brāhmaṇas, descended from Āvasathya Gangananda Chattopadhyaya of Deshmukho in District Hoogly of Bengal. His mother was a deeply religious lady and his father, an assistant in the Government of India Secretariat, a good scholar of English. He had two sisters, Abha Devi and Praubha Devi. He married Srimati Jagat Lakshmi Devi, daughter of Professor Jyotish Chandra Banerjee.

Pt. Chattopadhyaya studied in a number of schools and passed the Matriculation Examination of the Calcutta University in 1913 from the Hindu School of Calcutta. He then studied in the Presidency College of Calcutta for the Intermediate Examination in Arts and passed in 1915. He then migrated to the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh and passed the B. A. Examination of the Allahabad University from the Muir Central College, Allahabad, in 1917, and the M. A. Examinations in Sanskrit (Philosophy Group) from the Queen's College Benares, in 1919. He also passed the M. A. Examinations in Sanskrit (Veda Group) of Calcutta University in 1921 and (Vedānta Group) in 1922. He had also passed the First Examination in Pāṇinian Grammar of the Bengal Sanskrit Association in 1913.

While he was a young child, his mother read out to him and his sisters a Bengali drama on the life of Sri Śaṅkarāchārya. This early created in his mind a deep interest in Vedānta Philosophy. From his father and his Head Master in the Hindu School, Rai Bahadur Rasamay Mitra, he got interested in linguistic studies. While in School in Bengal, the young boy felt sad that Bengali Pandits of the Orthodox School, though well-versed in other branches of Sanskrit learning, practically knew nothing of the Vedas. He decided that he would himself try to make good this deficiency and specialise in Vedic studies. Study of the Vedas in all their

aspects has remained his chief goal of academic endeavour. Vedanta has been his next love.

At Allahabad, his Professor of Sanskrit was Mm. Dr. Sir Ganganatha Jha, F. B. A., who taught him Vedānta, besides Sanskrit Literature. This was very fortunate for him. At Benares, the greatest centre of Sanskrit learning, his teachers were Padma Vibhūshaṇa Mm. Dr. Gopinath Kaviraja, late Dr. Arthur Venis, Mm. Pandit Lakshmana Shastri Tailang, Mm. Pandit Vama Charana Nyāyāchārya, Mm. Ambadasa Shastri and Pandit Achyutananda Tripathi. He imbibed from these scholars the method of Sanskrit learning on traditional lines. Under his Piofessor of Sanskrit in the Queen's College, Benares, the late Dr. Tukaram Krishas Laddu he studied Pali and Prakrits and Elements of Comparative Philology. He was later helped in his study of Linguistics by Professor Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji and the late Professor Dr. Irach Jehangir Sorabji Taraporewala. The latter and the late Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi helped him in Avestan Studies. The late Pandit Ganesha Shastri and Mahāmahopādhyāya Pandit Chinnaswami Shastri helped him in the understanding of Vedic Śrauta rituals.

After passing his M. A. Examination in 1919, he worked as research scholar on the Vedānta Sūtras under Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Gopinatha Kaviraja for a few months. He joined as a Lecturer in Sanskrit in the Carmichael College, Rangpur, in November 1919, and as a Lecturer in Sanskrit in the University of Allahabad in September 1924. At Rangpur he had to teach Veda, Sanskrit Texts, Dramaturgy, Dharmaśāstra, History of Sanskrit Literature and also Bengali. At Allahabad, where he served for about 34 years as Lecturer, Reader and Professor, he had to teach a large variety of subjects, Veda, Mīmāṁsā, Vedānta, Classical Sanskrit Literature, Pali, Prakrit, Linguistics, Avesta and Ancient Persian and Ancien Indian History.

History was a favourite subject of study of Pt. Chattopadhyaya from his school days. While at Allahabad, he paid several visits to the ancient city of Kaushambi, now a village called Kosam, and realised its archaeological importance. In accordance with his wishes, the Archaeological Department of the Government of India took interest in its systematic excavation. But when

the Department abruptly stopped the work, Pt. Chattopadhyaya wished that the work should be taken up by Allahabad University. He induced the authorities of the University to move the Archaeological Department to give license to the University to carry on excavations at Kaushambi. The Department permitted Professor Govardhan Rai Sharma, who had been trained in the modern technique of archaeology by the then Director General of Archaeology, Dr. Robert Mortimer Wheeler, to start this work. It had led to very valuable results.

The Government Sanskrit College of Benares was converted into the Varanaseya Sanskrit Vishvavidyalaya in March 1958. Pt. Chattopadhyaya was appointed its first Director of Research in August 1958. His own literary activities had started when he was an undergraduate at Allahabad and writing of reseach articles when he was a Lecturer at Rangpur and Guidance of research began when he was a Lecturer in the Allahabad University. Being appointed Director of Research in the Varanaseya Sanskrita Vishvavidyalaya, he had an opportunity of organising research both on traditional and modern lines in the University. He himself supervised the work of some research scholars in Veda, Pāṇinian Grammar and Classical Literature. The Government Sanskrit College had published the *Saraswati Bhawan Texts and Studies*. The Sanskrit University took them over, continued them and added publications under several new heads. A University Press was also started through his efforts. Pt. Chattopadhyaya held the post of Director of Research for five years with a break of one and half years. He was also for about one year acting Vice-Chancellor of the University in addition to his duties as Director of Research.

After the Termination of his services in the Varanaseya Sanskrit Vishvavidyalaya, he was appointed Adviser for Sanskrit Programmes in the All-India Radio by the Government of India. He held this post for three years and six months. He prepared the Sanskrit Lessons that are being broadcast twice a week by the All-India Radio. These Lessons have been revised and are again on the Air. These lessons seek to teach the Sanskrit Language and also the culture enshrined in it.

He was also appointed a special Scholar for comparative study of Vedas and Avesta by the Ministry of Education, Government of India of the Kendriya Sanskrita Vidyapeetha, Tirupati. Three Inaugural Lecturers were delivered at Tirupati on August 21 to 23, 1966. A book in Sanskrit, named *Vedavittaprakāśikā*, has been written and is being revised for publication.

The Calcutta University appointed him Stephanos Nirmalendu Ghosh Lecturer on Comparative Religion for 1960. Eight Lectures on the subject were delivered in 1963 and 1964. The title of the Lecturers was "God reaches out his Hands". He was appointed Guru Govind Singh Professor of comparative religion by the Patiala University but he could not join the post on account of his prolonged illness from 1967 to 1969. He delivered three lectures on Vedic Literature in Hindi in 1960 at Ahmedabad under the auspices of the Jnanodaya trust and three seminar lectures on the History of Vedic Religion in the same year before the Sanskrit College of Calcutta. He delivered three lectures in Hindi before the Lal Bahadur Shastri Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha of Delhi on Kālidāsa.

The President of India awarded him on August 15, 1966, a Certificate of Merit for Distinction in Sanskrit with a life Pension.

Pt. Chattopadhyaya has been actively connected with the All-India Oriental Conference since its third session held in Madras in December 1924. He presided over its Veda and Indo-Aryan Section in the ninth Session held at Trivandrum in 1937 and its Veda Section in the Eighteenth Section held at Annamalainagar in 1955. He presided over the Philosophy Section of the Akhil Bhāratīya Hindi Sāhitya Sammelan held at Karachi in December 1946. He was actively connected with the efforts of the Sammelan to get Hindi accepted as the official language of the Indian Union by the Constituent Assembly in 1949. It recently passed resolution conferring on him the title of *Sāhitya-Vāchaspati* for his services to the cause of Hindi.

Though Pt. Chattopadhyaya has been studying Sanskrit mostly from the modern point of view, he realises the great value of studies on traditional lines. His teachers, the late Mm. Dr.

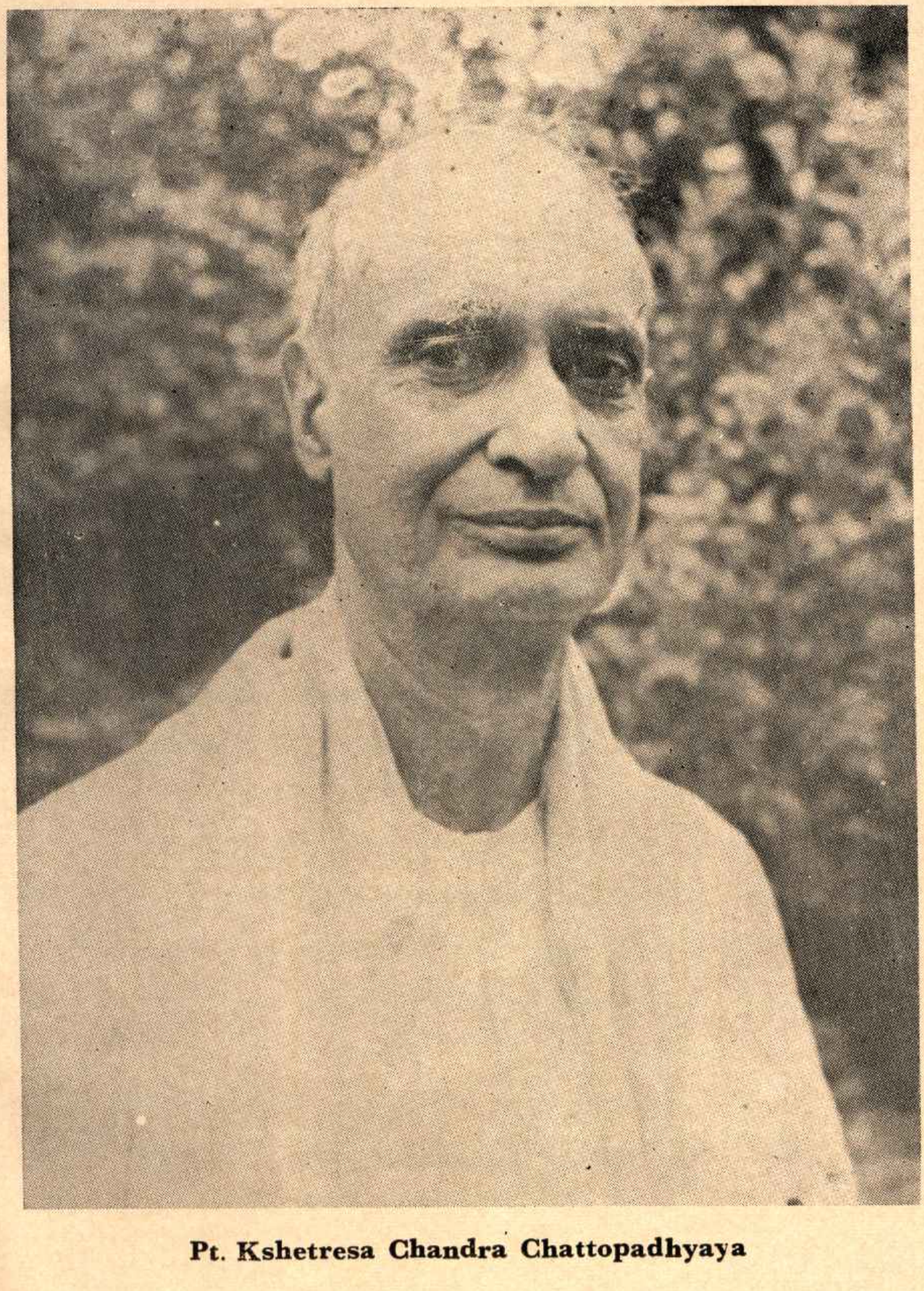
Ganganatha Jha and Dr. Arthur Venis had impressed on his mind the value of the Panditic approach in the understanding of the old texts. When the Government of U. P. was seized of the Bhagavandas Enquiry Committee on the Revision of the Curriculum of studies of the Government Sanskrit College, Banaras, he sent a full note to Government against the modernisation of the curriculum of Sanskrit Pāṭhashālas and pleaded for the retention of the traditional methods before the Sanskrit Commission presided over by Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, appointed by the Government of India.

Pt. Chattopadhyaya comes from a family of administrative and judicial officers. But he chose the avocation of teaching. Being deeply influenced by some of his inspiring teachers, in schools and colleges, he thought it his duty to pay off this ṛṣi.ṛṇa by tring to be helpful to his own pupils. Many of these pupils have acquired distinction in the field of scholarship or administration.

The Board of Editors wish long life and health to Pt. Chattopadhyaya with the hope that this doyen of Indology will carry the torch of Sanskrit learning as brilliantly as he has done in a long career of continued and strenuous activity.

भद्रं कर्णेभिः शृणुयाम देवाः भद्रं पश्येमाक्षिभिर्यजत्राः ।
स्थिरैरङ्गैस्तुष्टुवांसस्तनूभिः व्यशेम देवहितं यदायुः ॥

BOARD OF EDITORS



Pt. Kshetresa Chandra Chattopadhyaya

प्रसूनार्पणम्

१

शालप्रांशुरुदञ्चदम्बुदघटागम्भीरघोषः स्फुरद्—
भस्मालङ्कृत भालभृत्समुदयब्राह्मण्यपुण्योज्ज्वलः ।
शिष्यश्रेणिनवीनपादपवनीकारुण्यधाराधरः
प्रौढः पण्डितमण्डनो विजयते क्षेत्रेशचन्द्रः कृती ॥

२

मातुः सेवनतत्परेण जगतामाश्चर्यचर्यावहं
चीर्णं येन सुदुष्करं भुवितपः प्रत्यग्रतेजोमयम् ।
तस्याऽद्य प्रथमान सद्गुणगणग्रामाभिरामात्मनः
क्षेत्रेशस्य मुनीश्वरस्य तनुमः शुद्धं सपर्योत्सवम् ॥

३

गङ्गानाथ दिनाधिनाथ किरणैरन्तः प्रविष्टैश्चिरा—
दापूर्णो धवलाम्बरः कविकुलैरुद्गीयमानोदयः ।
संसत्कैरविणी विकासकुशलः सन्ध्यानुरक्तः शुचि—
र्नेत्रानन्दकरः सतां विजयतां क्षेत्रेशचन्द्रोत्तमः ॥

४

काशीवासपवित्रता परिणतस्वान्तः प्रयागान्तरे
यागं यो व्यतनिष्ट शिष्टपरिषन्मान्यो निजाध्यापनैः ।
गम्भीरां गुरुवाचमन्तरनिशं धत्ते गुणिग्रामणीः
क्षेत्रेशाऽभिधया जगत्प्रविदितः सोऽयं समुद्योतताम् ॥

५

तन्मित्राऽन्यतमस्य पण्डितमणे र्नारायणस्यात्मजो
नाम्नाऽयं बटुकस्तदीयचरितश्रद्धानिबध्दादरः ।
विद्वद्वृन्दविधीयमानविततार्श्यचर्चाविधौ धौतधी—
राधत्ते विनयात्तदीयपदयोः पद्यप्रसूनाञ्जलिम् ॥

बटुकनाथ शास्त्री खिस्ते

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60. The Religious Reform of Zaraθuštra (*Proceedings of the* XXV *International Congress of Orientalists*, Moscow, 1960, Vol. II. pp. 197-201).

61. Can we accept the traditional date of Zaraθuštra ? (Communicated to the *XXVI International Congress of Orientalists*, New Delhi, 1964).

62. Was 'A' a close vowel according to Pāṇini ? (Do.)

63. Indologists, Western and Indian (*Cultural Forum*, May 1964, pp. 60-72).

64. The Tātparya of the *Bhagavad-Gītā* (Communicated to the *XXII All-India Oriental Conference*, Gauhati, 1965).

65. Progressive Importance of Miθra Worship in Zoroastrianism (Communicated to the *XXVII International Congress of Orientalists*, Ann Arbor, U. S. A., 1967).

66. Meghadūte Rāmagiriḥ - in Sanskrit (*Dr. Adityanatha Jha Abhinandana Grantha*), 1969, Vol. I, pp. 276-284.

67. Kālidāsa ke Kāla, kṛti tathā Kalā - in Hindi (Three Lectures delivered in the Lal Bahadur Shastri Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyāpeetha, Delhi, November, 1969).

68. Conception of Īśvara in the *Nyāya Sūtras* of Gautama, (Communicated to the *XXVI All-India Oriental Conference*, scheduled to be held at Ujjain).

69. Gāyatrī Mantra kā Ṛṣi tathā Māhatmya - in Hindi (*Viśvajyoti*, Vedāṅka, to be published in March, 1972).

70. Kālidāsa and the Cloud Messenger *motif* in the Chinese Poet Tsui Kan and the German writer Schiller (Communicated to the *International Conference of Sanskritists*, to be held in New Delhi, 1972).

62. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Begin ? [illegible]

63. [illegible] : Western and Indian Culture [illegible] May 19[illegible] pp. 56[illegible].

[illegible] The Purpose of the Bhagavad-Gītā (Communicated to the XXVI All-India Oriental Conference, Gauhati, 1965).

[illegible] Comparative Importance of Mitra Worship in Zoroastrianism (Communicated to the XXVII International Congress of Orientalists, Ann Arbor, U.S.A., 1967).

66. Meghadūte Rasaguṇāḥ - in Sanskrit (Dr. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], 1969, V. 4, pp. 276-281.

67. Kālidāsa kī [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Kalā - in Hindi (Three Lectures delivered at the Lal Bahadur Shastri Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyāpeeṭha, Delhi, November, 1969).

68. Conception of Īśvara in the Nyāya-Sūtra of Gautama (Communicated to the XXVI All-India Oriental Conference, scheduled to be held at Ujjain).

[illegible] Mahākavi Kālidāsa kī [illegible] Mūlādhāra - in Hindi ([illegible] Vaidehī, to be published in March, 1972).

70. Kālidāsa and the Cloud Messenger motif in the Chinese Poet [illegible] Kan and the German writer Schiller (Communicated to the International Congress of Sanskrit, to be held in New Delhi, 1972).

ṚGVEDA V 78, A COMPOSITE LEGEND SPELL

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In my article "The ākhyāna theory reconsidered"[1] I have referred to three famous ṛgvedic hymns (III 33, X 108, I 179) for which P. Thieme[2] has coined the term "legend spell" ("Legendenzauber") : they have in common that an account of an historical or mythical event is followed by an incantation, a spell receiving its magic power from the truth of the story, analogous to the desired effect, which precedes it. In III 33 (to quote myself), "the saṁvāda proper tells the tale of the successful crossing of the Vipāś and Śutudrī by the Bharatas, and it is followed by a single stanza quite unconnected with the old story and containing a general prayer or conjuration for the safe crossing of a river with an ox-cart. Lüders has pointed to the striking similarity of the Old High German Merseburg spells. In one of them the conjuring formula for healing a broken limb is preceded by a short mythological account of the healing of the sprained foot of God Balder's foal . . . . . The dispute between Saramā and the Paṇis (X 108) is concluded by a stanza which alludes to the liberation of the cows by Bṛhaspati and the Aṅgiras in the imperfect, which means that this stanza cannot be assumed to have been spoken by the Aṅgiras but must be considered to be a spell to be

1. *Journal Or. Inst. Baroda* XIII pp. 195-207.

2. Agastya und Lopāmudrā" ZDMG 113 p. 69 ff.

used when cows have gone astray and cannot be found, the presumption then being that they have been enticed and hidden by demons like the Paṇis; and the story relating how Agastya, succumbing to Lopāmudrā's entreaties, broke his vow of chastity (I 179) is concluded by two stanzas spoken according to tradition by a barhmacārin in order to expiate the same sin committed by himself."

I have then discussed the question whether such legend spell sūktas are original compositions, i. e. whether (as Thieme prefers to think) tale and appended spell were composed by the same poet at the same time, or whether "existing ākhyāna verses are secondarily put to magical use, are converted into a charm, by subsequent addition of the spell." Against Thieme I have decided in favour of the second alternative. The fact that in two cases (III 33 and I 179) the metre of the spell stanza is different from that of the body of the hymn seems to me significant, and Thieme himself (ZDMG 113 p. 78 note 16) draws our attention to a number of modernisms in III 33,13 and I 179,5 and, in the latter stanza, the word *pulukā́ma* with what he considers a "vernacular"; his explanation, however : "I think it possible that. . . the poet himself has on purpose given the magic incantation a form contrasting with the archaic style of what precedes", seems to me highly improbable, not to say unnatural.

I shall try to adduce additional evidence for my contention by analyzing a hymn which, in my opinion, not only furnishes a perfect further specimen of a "legend spell" but shows with unusual clarity the process of compilation of a vedic hymn from "prefabricated" materials.

Ṛgveda V 78 opens with an invitation of the Aśvins :

1. O Aśvins, come hither, o Nāsatyas, do not turn away !

Like two geese fly hither to the pressed (soma potions) !

2. O Aśvins, like two antelopes, like two buffaloes (going) to pasture, like two geese fly hither. . .

3. O Aśvins, rich in (race-) mares[3], accept with favour our sacrifice so that you may grant our desire ! Like two geese fly hither. . .

These three uṣṇih stanzas might serve as introduction to any Aśvin sūkta. But while in the normal Aśvin hymn (cf. e. g. I 116-119) such an introduction is followed by what might be called a litany listing their deeds in the same metre, here the metre changes : the next stanza is a triṣṭubh.

4. When Atri, descending into the ṛbīsa, invoked you like a woman in labour, you came, o Aśvins, with the propitious swiftness of a falcon such as (you display) to this day.[4]

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3. Very frequent epithet of the Aśvins ; lit. "Whose wealth consists in mares." H. Lommel ("Gedichte des Rig-Veda") translates : "Ihr mit trefflichsten Rennstuten." The usual translation "rich in gifts" seems liguistically unjustified.

4. L. Renou (*Étude védiques et Pāṇinéennes*, XVI, p. 42) : "*nū́tanena*, cette même vitessequ' on voit en vous 'maintenant' encore" ("this same swiftness which one sees with you even 'now' "); an appeal to the Aśvins to be "now" as swift as they were in the mythical past.

After this one triṣṭubh devoted to the Atri myth, there occurs another change of metre ; the myth of Saptavadhri who was wedged in a tree trunk is dealt with in two anuṣṭubhs :

5. "Open, o tree, like the vulva of a woman about to give birth ! Hear, o Aśvins, my call and release Saptavadhri !"

6. For the frightened, distressed ṛṣi Saptavadhri you, o Aśvins, squeeze the tree open and to.

The last three stanzas are not indeed in a different metre, but they differ radically in their subject matter : they are a conjuration in which neither the Aśvins nor any of their deeds are mentioned ; they stand to the body of the sūkta in exactly the same relation at the concluding charm III 33,13 to the story of the Bharatas' river-crossing.

7. As the wind sets in motion the lotus pond on all sides, even so shall thy embryo stir, he shall come out (being now) ten months old.

8. As the wind, as the tree, as the sea moves, so come thou down, ten-months-old (child), together with the after-birth.

9. The boy[5] who has been lying in his mother for ten months shall come out alive, uninjured, alive out of the living one !

In his translation, Geldner gives the following analysis of V 78 : "The hymn consists of three parts. The first triad contains the invitation of the Aśvins to

5. A girl is of course out of the question !

the soma (1-3), the second their praise, which is restricted to two rescues fitting the situation in 7-9, the rescue of Atri out of the ṛbīsa (4) and of Saptavadhri out of the tree (5-6) ; the second legend is transposed to the present and represented in 5 as direct speech of Saptavadhri. The conclusion, the real purpose of the hymns, is a benediction for easy birth. "This shows that Geldner did not—or only partially understand the real relation of the three parts of the sūkta : the two legends are only *quoted* in order to make the charm (not a mere "benediction") efficacious. H. Lommel is nearer the true understanding when (in the introduction to his translation, p. 48) he says : "As is often the case with such healing charms (cf. the Merseburg spells), one refers to a former, comparable deed of the gods," but when he speaks of midwife-godesses of Vedic religion comparable to Greek Eileithyia and Roman Juno Lucina and states that in the present case not one of these godesses but the Aśvins are invoked for help, he is wrong : nowhere in the hymn are the Aśvins asked to interfere and help the woman in labour ; they are just as little invoked for help as the man wanting to cross the river with his oxen in III 33 invokes the rivers or Indra : he merely tells the story of the Bharatas' crossing in order to make his charm more efficacious. III 33, 13 is not a charm *appended* to the old saṁvāda but the old saṁvāda is *prefixed* to the (more modern) charm.

In the case of V 78 it is even clearer that the concluding charm is the real starting point ("the real purpose" of the hymn as Geldner says) ; the two legends—in two different metres !—are, as stated above, quotations, selected from the huge store of Aśvin myths

told in one or two stanzas or even more briefly because their wording happened to compare the situation of the two ṛṣis with that of a woman in labour.

That the spell, V 78, 7-9, is younger than the rest of the hymn was correctly recognised a hundred years ago by Grassmann. In his ṚV translation he relegates vv. 4. 7-9 to the appendix and remarks there (Vol. I p. 544) : "v. 4 is addressed to the Aśvins but separates itself through its metre. It seems to come from an old hymn. 7-9, on the other hand, are of late origin, as testified e. g. by *sarvatas*"[6] ; we may add that the style of 7-9 is unmistakably different and similar to that of the younger parts of the Atharvaveda.

But if the Aśvins are not asked to help, if their deeds are merely referred to in order to make the charm more efficient, their invitation to come and partake of the soma (vv. 1-3) is really superfluous. Why was it added ? For that it is a secondary—or even tertiary—addition is hardly doubtful and is underlined by its different metre, the (comparatively rare) uṣṇih. The reason may simply be that in the first myth, v. 4, the name of the Aśvins appears only at the end of the stanza ; at the beginning they are referred to by *vām* as if they had been addressed or spoken of before. Thus a true beginning was felt to be lacking, and a normal beginning, i. e. the usual invitation, was borrowed somewhere, without regard to its inappropriateness in this special case. It seems, however, quite possible

6. Cf. Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik III* Sect. 265 c (p. 582) : *viśva* and its derivatives old, *sarva* young ; in the ṚV *viśvatas* occurs 68 times, *Sarvàtas* only twice, as against Atharvaveda: *viśvàtas* 21, *sarvàtas* 13.

that the invitation was only prefixed when the poem, v. 4-9, was to be included in the saṁhitā—with this introduction it would better conform to the normal appearance of an Aśvin sūkta.

I am far from maintaining that *every* sūkta of the legend spell type must be a secondary combination of a charm and an existing old legned prefixed to it later ; but the case of ṚV V 78 seems to me to be unequivocal, and it strengthens my conviction that at least ṚV III 33 and I 179 must be viewed in the same light—they are composite hymns, not homogeneous compositions.

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THE GAṄGĀ-ŚĀNTANU LEGEND

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The legend of Śāntanu and Gaṅgā occurring in the *Ādiparva* of the *Mahābhārata* (92-93, cr. edn., Poona) is one of the most interesting legends in the history of Indian Mythology. The legend is significant due to its many motifs which deserve a serious study. In the present paper an attempt has been made to give an anthropological explanation of this legend as compared to similar motifs found in Greek Folk Tales.

King Śāntanu, while wandering along the bank of the Ganges, fell in love with a lovely damsel. She promised to marry the king on the understanding that the King should not interfere with her acts, whether these are agreeable or disagreeable to him. Agreeing to this condition, Śāntanu married the celestial damsel, and he lived happily with her in love and joy. She bore him seven sons. As soon as each child was born, she threw it into the waters of the Gaṅgā saying : "This is my wish". The king naturally could not approve of such a conduct, but he did not speak a word of reproof to her for fear of being abandoned by her. When the eighth son was born, the king insisted on keeping his child and said sorrowfully to the smiling Gaṅgā, "Do not kill this child. Who are you and to whom do you belong. Why do you torture your own sons and kill them? Do not incur the greatest of sins and stand condemned for it".

Gaṅgā said, "As you wish to have a son, I shall not kill this child. But the time has come for me to leave you according to our past compact. I am Gaṅgā, the daughter of Jahnu, worshipped by all the great sages. I have lived with you so long only to accomplish the design of celestials. The eight sons I bore you were the illustrious and radiant Vasus who were forced to assume human form because of the curse of sage Vasiṣṭha. There was no one on earth who claimed to be their progenitor; nor was there any woman, who could be their mother. Hence I assumed a human form and gave birth to them. My compact with the celestial Vasus was that I would release them from their human birth as soon as they were born. Thus the Vasus have got rid of the curse of the illustrious sage Vasiṣṭha".

The following motifs are noteworthy in the above legend :

(i) There is a marriage of a mortal with a fairy. It is an example of a mixed marriage.

(ii) There is a Taboo in the marriage that the king will not interfere with the damsel in any of her acts, whether he agrees or disagrees. When the Taboo is broken, the damsel goes again to her formal life.

(iii) The seven children born to her were thrown in the river.

(iv) The eighth one was saved after the interference of Śāntanu,

(v) Vasus got rid of mortality after they took a dip in the river. It was the touch of water which released them from their human form.

The legend of Śāntanu and Gaṅgā has many parallels in Greek mythology, the most striking of which is of Peleus and Thetis. This legend has been described by many ancient Greek writers. It is as follows :[1]

'Peleus the king of Myrmidons was married to the nymph, Thetis. She gave birth to six children. Thetis burnt them successively in order to make them immortal like herself and sent each of them in turn up to Olympus. But Peleus contrived to snatch the seventh one from her when she had already made all his body, except the ankle bone, immortal by laying it on the fire and afterwards rubbing it with ambrosia, the half charred ankle-bone had escaped this final treatment. Enraged by his interference, Thetis said farewell to Peleus, and returned to her home in the sea, naming her son 'Achilles' because he had as yet placed no lips to her breast. Peleus provided Achilles with a new ankle bone, taken from the skelton of the swift giant Damysus, but this was fated to prove his undoing".[2]

According to another story at the birth of Achilles, his mother made him invulnerable by dipping him into the waters of the river Styx. But his heel by which she held him, was not wetted by the water and so remained vulnerable.[3]

(i) Like Gaṅgā and Śāntanu the marriage of Thetis and Peleus is also a mixed marriage of the water goddess with a mortal man.

1. Apollodorus iii, 13.6
2. Robert Graves, *Greek Myths*, I. 272-3
3. Servius on Virgil, *Aen*, vi. 57

(ii) There is a Taboo of keeping silence for the king i. e. he will not interfere in the acts of the nymph.

(iii) The nymph bore six children, but the seventh one was saved.

(vi) Children were burnt or dipped in the river Styx.

(v) The immortality was attained by fire or by taking a dip in the river Styx.

In a modern folk tale from Crete a young boy was carried off by sea - nymphs (Nereids) to their cave. The boy used to play lyre. The nymphs listened to the music of lyre with great delight. The boy was attracted by the beauty of one of the nymphs. He fell in love with her. And he asked the advice of an old woman. She advised him to seize the nymph by the hair and though she would turn them into different shapes, he was not to be frightened or to let her go. He took the advice and though the sea nymph was turned into a dog, a serpent, a camel and fire, he held her by the hair till the cocks crew. Then she came into her own form and followed him. They lived as husband and wife for a year and a son was also born to them. But the nymph used to remain always silent. Her strange silence perplexed the boy and he again went to the old woman and sought her advice. According to her advice, the boy heated the stove and taking the child into his arms, threatened to throw it into the fire if she would not speak to him. At that the nymph started up crying, "Leave my child alone, you dog." She snatched the child from him and disappeared, never to return.[4]

4. B. Schmidt, *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen*, 115-7 ; Leipzig, 1871

This tale from Crete shows a very significant feature in ancient stories of Gaṅgā and Śāntanu and Peleus and Thetis. It is possible that in the ancient stories of India and Greece the sea of river brides remained completely silent until Śāntanu and Peleus questioned their wives in their acts of putting children on the fire or (in case of the Gaṅgā) throwing in the river. At that sight fathers must have cried out, thus reproaching their wives. We come to know from the fragments of Sophocles that Thetis left Peleus because she was reproached by him.[5] Sophocles in his drama 'Trilus' referring to the marriage of Peleus and Thetis says that it was a silent or voiceless marriage. J. G. Frazer[6] has explained the silence of the bride as a remains of a custom of imposing reticence for some time after the marriage. Among the Wabende of Lake Tanganyika, a wife does not speak to her husband for several days after the marriage ; she waits till the husband has made a present. Similarly among the Tedas of Tibesti in central Sudan, a bride is shut up after marriage for seven days in a special compartment of her husband's house and does not utter a word.[7]

In the story of Ūrvaśī and Purūravas Taboo is placed on male nudity, in the presence of Ūravaśī. It was believed among the primitive people that, if a woman looked upon the nakedness of a man (even if he was her husband), he would lose his virility.[8] In the

5. *The Fragments of Sophocles*, Ed. A. C. Pearson, Vol. I. 106 ff.
6. Apollodorus, *Eng. Tr.*, p. 385.
7. *L' Anthropologie*, xxx (1920), p. 121
8. W. Crooke, *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, XLIX, 1938

Yakṣa praśna of the *Mahābhārata* (*Āraṇyakaparva*, 297-8) water from the lake could not be drunk without fulfilling a condition laid down by the guardian of evil spirit residing in water places. Among the primitive people it was believed that man's soul rests in the form of his reflection in water or in a mirror.[9] The changing of form of king Bhangāsva (*Anuśāsanaparva* XII 9-10) into a woman after taking bath into a lake and similarly in the *Matsya-Purāṇa*, the emergence of Kaṇva Nārada in the shape of a girl after he plunged into the water, are also water Taboos as occuring in the legend of the Yakṣa Praśna. We have in the *Kādambarī* the example of a sage Kapiñjala who regained his original form from horse, which he had obtained due to a curse because he took a dip in the lake, *Acchoda*.

Both in ancient India (*Manusmṛti* IV 38) and ancient Greece there was a maxim not to look at one's reflection in water, and Greeks regarded it as an omen of death.[10] They feared that the water spirits would drag the person's reflection or soul under water, and thus he would perish.

In the stories of Jarat Kāru and Eros and Psyche it is the husband and not the wife who is the fairy spouse, and is liable to vanish away from their wives when they offended them by breaking some rule, the observance of which was enjoined on them as a condition of their wedded bliss.

The legends of Gaṅgā and Śāntanu, Ūrvaśī and Purūravas, Jarat Kāru and his wife of the snake race on one hand, and Peleus and Thetis and Eros and Psyche on

9. *Golden Bough*, Pt. II, p. 92

10. *Fragmenta Philosophorum Graecorum*, L. 510

other hand, seem to have their roots in totemism which has broken the hearts of many lovers. There came a stage in primitive society when this system ceased to exist, and people forgot the principles on which totemism was based. But the tales of mixed marriages based on the idea of totemism continued. Now these tales had no connection with this primitive custom but they were narrated simply as fairly tales for the entertainment of people. In old tales there were many features which appeared unbelievable and too barbarous to more civilized people than their ancestors. Thus they discarded the old ones and replaced them with others which were suitable in accordance with the changing beliefs of time.

The animal husband or animal wife dropped the character of beast and assumed the form of a fairy. This stage of decay has been exhibited by the above-mentioned legends. The original bird nature of Ūrvaśī is known while she was swimming as a swan or duck along with other nymphs in the lotus-covered lake. Similarly Gaṅgā is obviously a river; lady Jarat Kāru a snake; and the damsel who met Parīkṣita was a frog. In Greek mythology Thetis like Gaṅgā is a nymph or water goddess. Signifying the sea and snake character of Eros, the husband of Psyche is shown in the oracle of Apollo.

The study of various tribes show that generally totem may be an animal, bird, fish, plant, river or often material objects or parts thereof. A clan of Konyak Naga tribe and a clan among Galongs of Assam[11] believe to have descended from frog. Many castes in Orissa, the Kurmi, Kumber, Bhumia are named after the serpents.[12]

11. V. John, F., *Totemism in India*, p. 215
12. D.N. Majumdar, *Races and Cultures of India*, p. 346

Animals such as bull, cow, horse, snake, tortoise, tiger, rivers, native creatures, different plants and material objects figure prominently in the totemic structure of primitive tribes.

Macdonell (*Vedic Mythology,* p. 153) finds the survival of Totemism in the names Kaśyapas (tortoise), Matsyas (fishes) Ajas (goat), Vatsas (calves), Śunakas (dogs), Sigrus (horse raddish), Kauśikas (owls) and Maṇḍūkayas (frogs). It was forbidden to eat swan, frog and bull's flesh. According to Oldenberg (*Die Religion des Veda,* p. 83) the idea of wearing deer's skin by Brahmacāris in the Vedas is based on Totemism, though Keith links it with magic. The divinity of the cow rests on the element in totemism which consists in the deification of that class of animals which provides a livelihood.

The throwing of seven Vasus into the river Gaṅgā and the killing of seven children of Devakī by Kaṁsa in Indian myths, and the burning of children by Demeter and Thetis, the sacrifice of seven Athenian youths to Minotaur, the murder of defeated suitors who came to marry Hippodamia, and the killing of his children by Kronos in Greek myths, remind us of an ancient custom of the sacrifice of youths and children. The Phoenicians sacrificed children to their Sanguinary god, Moloch.[13] Similarly in Greece infants were sacrificed to Melicertes on the Island of Tenedos and probably also at Korinth.

Lastly in our tale of Gaṅgā and Śāntanu, we find that Vasus got rid of their curse and mortal forms after taking leap into the river. In the *Mahāprasthānaparva*

13. Plut. *de Sernum, Vind* 6. p. 552 A.

14. Ovid, *Metamorph.* xiii. 924 ff

of the *Mahābhārata,* Yudhiṣṭhira also having bathed in the celestial river Gaṅgā, cast off his human body and assumed a celestial form. In Greek myths, Glaucus,[14] Ino and Melikertes[15] are said to have taken a leap into the sea and then to have attained immortality. The leap into the sea is also told of the divinities, Dionysus, Aphrodite, or heroic personages with such divine names as Molapadias and Parthnos of Caria, Dictynna Brinthomartis of Crete—all vegetation powers of similar value appearing as the legends of Cauldron. Dionysus[16] and Pelops[17] were revived in a boiling water put in the Cauldron. From the period of the early Vedas down to Hinduism of the present day, water in India has been considered as a tangible manifestation of the divine essence. In the beginning everything was like a sea without a light, declares an ancient hymn (*RV.* X. 129.3; ŚB 11.1.6.1), and even today one of the most common and simple objects of worship in the daily ritual is a jar or a pitcher filled with water, representing the presence of the divinity and serving in the place of sacred image.[18] In the *Brahma-vaivarta-Purāṇa,* Śiva sings a hymn in praise of Gaṅgā: "She is the source of redemption. Heaps of sin, accumulated by a sinner during million of births are destroyed by the mere contact of a wind charged with her vapour. As fire consumes fuel, so this stream consumes the sins of the wicked. Sinners who expire near the water of the Ganges are released from all their sins. They become Śiva's attendants and dwell at his side. They become identical with him in shape; they never die—not even on the day of total dissolution of the Universe."

15. *Pausanias,* I. 42.6
16. Euripides, *Bacchae,* 92-102
17. Apollodorous, *Epitome,* ii. 3
18. Zimmer, *Myths and Arts in Indian Art and Civilisation,* 34

This passage of the *Purāṇa* is in conformity with the Vasus who were released of their curse or sin and mortal frame after taking a dip into the river Gaṅgā. It is told of the Rajah of Manipur and his wife that their sins which were washed away by water fell on a human scape goat. 'In one of the parts of Newzeland' a service was performed over an individual, by which all the sins of the tribe were supposed to be transferred to him ; a fern stalk was previously tied to his person, with which he jumped into the river and there unbinding, allowed it to float away to the sea, bearing their sins with it.[19]

In the case of Demeter and Thetis the attempt was to make immortal their children through fire. Similarly Isis essayed to confer immortality on the infant son of the king of Byblus.[20] According to Frazer (Apollodorus II) these legends point to "a custom of passing newborn infants across a fire to save their lives from the dangers which beset infancy and which to the primitive mind, assume the form of demons or other spiritual beings lying in wait to cut short the frail thread of life. Similar customs have been observed for similar reasons in many parts of the world". In Indian legends, Purūravas is said to have attained the state of Gandharva through the fire and Yavakrita, the son of Bharadvāja, was resurrected with him on entering the fire (*Āraṇyakaparva* 139-18). In the *Ṛgveda* (1.31.7) Agni and Soma (1.84.4) are said to render mortals as immortals. In one of the verses of the RV. (10.16.6), Agni is requested to temper the unborn portion (*ajobhaga*) of man with his flames, but not to consume it. Being consumed by fire the body only

19. Frazer, *Golden Bough*, Abd., 711-2
20. Plutarch, *Isis et Osiris*, 16

perishes, whereas the real personality remains indestructible.

In Greek myths Hercules became a god in the burning pile on Mount Oeta. The human element in him, which he had inherited from his mortal mother, was burnt in the flame, while the divine element[21] ascended the pure and spotless realm of the gods.

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21. Apollodorus II. vii. 7

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21. Apollodorus II. vii. 7.

VEDIC STARYA- AND PĀṆINI 3, 1, 123*

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1. . . . . . *A*. 3,1,123

Pāṇini (=P.) teaches in *A* 3, 1, 123—

छन्दसि निष्टर्क्य - देवहूय - प्रणीय - उन्नीय - उच्छिष्य - मर्य - स्तर्या - ध्वर्य-खन्य-खान्य-देवयज्या-आपृच्छ्य-प्रतिषीव्य-ब्रह्मवाद्य-भाव्य-स्ताव्य-उपचाय्यपृडानि।

—that in the Sacred Literature (*chandasi*), *niṣṭarkya-* and the other words listed in the rule, are *nipātana-s*. This is one of the rules which demonstrate the fact that P. has exploited Vedic sources from first-hand experience.

Of the seventeen *nipātana*-words listed in the rule, four words—*unnīya-*, *khānya-*, *pratiṣīvya-* and *stāvya-* — may be considered as belonging to the class of unattested Vedisms, since these do not occur in the extant *Saṁhitā*, *Brāhmaṇa* and *Āraṇyaka* texts. Concomitantly, six words belong exclusively to the domain of the *Ṛg* and *Yajur-vedas*. Such words are : *devahū́ye* (*ṚV* 7,85,2), *khányā-* (*TS* 7,4,13,1), *brahmavā́dyam* (TS 2,5,8,3), *ucchiṣyáḥ* (*MaiŚ* 3,9,2), *praṇī́yaḥ* (*MaiŚ* 3,9,1) and *upacā́yyâ-pṛḍam* (*KāṭhaS* 11,1).

2. . . . . . *Pāṇinīyas on A* 3,1,123

Following the explanation offered in the *Mahābhāṣyam* and the *Kāśikā*, we can conveniently group the 17

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nipātana-words under the Kṛtya-kṛt-suffixes (gerundives in *-ya-*) with which these words are formed, as follows :

KyaP-words	ṆyaT-words	yaT-words
— āpṛ́cchya-	upacāyyá-pṛḍam	khánya-
ucchiṣyá- (?)	khānyá-	devayajyā́ (?)
unnī́ya-	niṣṭarkyá-	dhvárya-(?)
devahū́ya-	brahmavadyá- (?)	márya-
praṇī́ya-	bhāvyá-	stárya (?)
pratiṣī́vya-	stāvyá-	

3. . . . . . *stárya-* (√*stṛ*+*yaT*)

In this paper I focus my attention on *starya-*. That the word is derived from the process :√*stṛ* (or *stṛ-* according to the *Altindische Grammatik*, II. 2, p. 791)+*yaT*, is shown by P a t a ñ j a l i (*Mahābhāṣyam*, Ed, Kielhorn, II.88.1) who reads *staryā* (fem.). Accordingly, the author of the *Kāśikā* comments :

staryā, striyām eva nipātanam/

B h a ṭ ṭ o j i (*Sid.Kau.*3407) voices a similar opinion;

staryā / striyām eva ayam/

The grammatical steps with which *stáryā* is constructed, are shown below :

√stṛ	+ya-T	... ...	nipātana by *A* 3,1,123
,,	+ya-ϕ	... ...	T=ϕ by 1,3,3;9
star	+ya	... ...	guṇa by 7,3,84
= stárya-		... ...	barytone by 6,1,213
stárya-	+Ṭ-ā-P	... ...	ṬāP by 4,1,4
,,	+ϕ ā ϕ	... ...	Ṭ/P = ϕ by 1,3,5;3;9
= stáryā.		... ...	barytone remains, since /P/ indicates *anudātta* of suffix by 3,1,4.

Thus *stáryā* 'to be laid low' or 'overthrown' or 'conquerable' is a barytone in the Pāṇinian system of accentuation.

4. ..... *The Vedic Facts*

The fem. word *stáryā* is not attested in the *Saṃhitās* that have come down to us. Nevertheless *MaiS* 1,5,10 (*Brāhmaṇa* prose) records the fem. negative formation, *astaryā̂*, as a perispomenon :

eṣā́ vā́ agnér astaryā̂ḥ priyā́ tanū́r varūthyā |

(v. Schroeder's edn., I. 78).

It also occurs in AV (*Paippalāda*) 2,23,5-d:

urvīr astaryā śaradas tarema| (Raghuvira's edn., I.31).

Among the *Brāhmaṇa* texts, the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (=*ŚB*) alone records the masculine *stárya-* (barytone) twice at 2,2,2,10 and 14 (=*ŚB Kāṇva :* 1,2,2,7;9). The oxytonic negative compound *astaryá-* (masc.) also occurs side by side with the barytonic *stárya-* in *ŚB*. Before citing this passage, a word may be said about the context of *ŚB* 2,2,2,10. The Devas wanted to conquer the Asuras, their mortal enemies. In order that the enemies may be vanquished, the Devas thought it proper to keep the immortal, consecrated Agni who alone among mortals is immortal, in their innermost souls; then they would become unconquerable (*astaryāḥ*) and immortal (*amṛtāḥ*). To quote *ŚB* 2,2,2,10 :

ते होचुः । हन्तेदम् अमृतम् अन्तरात्मन्नादधामहै, तऽइदम् अमृतम् अन्तरात्मन्नाधाय, अमृता भूत्वा, अस्तर्या भूत्वा, स्तर्यान् सपत्नान् मर्त्यान् अभिभविष्याम, इति । [Weber's edn.]

Eggeling (*SBE* XII. p. 310) renders the passage as under :

They said, 'Come, let us place that immortal element in our innermost soul ! When we have placed that immortal element in our innermost

> soul, and become immortal and unconquerable, we shall overcome our conquerable, mortal enemies.

S *ā* y a *ṇ* a glosses the word *astaryāḥ* with *'ahimsyāḥ'*, and his explanation of the word at 2,2,2,14 reads as follows :

> अमृतरूपाग्निधारणेन यस्मादाहिताग्निरहिंस्य : तस्माद् विवदमानोऽसौ अनाहिताग्निम् अभिभवितुं शक्नोति इत्यर्थ : ।
>
> (Bombay edn., Part I. p. 385)

5.........*Thieme's argument*

In his *Pāṇini and the Veda* (p. 94), Thieme candidly admits of "P*āṇ*ini's independence in arranging Vedic facts, and his originality in putting a problem touching on Vedic grammar". Yet he thinks (p. 19) that if P. had known the masculine forms (*stáryān* and *astaryā́ḥ*) attested in *ŚB*, "he would have read *starya-* beside *staryā*". Furthermore, he writes (p. 20) :

> It is not impossible that Pāṇini knew such a form (**stáryā* : MS *astaryā̂* = MS *médhya-* : MS *amedhyâ-*), but it seems more likely that he knew only *astaryâ* and abstracted * *staryā̂* from it (cf. KS *aniṣṭarkyâ-* : *niṣṭarkyâ-* against Pāṇ. 6,2,160). I even think, it is again the accent that has induced him to include the word in his list.

We have to face two difficulties in accepting Thieme's assumption : first, that the circumflex accent falling on the last syllable of *staryā̂ goes against the *yaT*-suffixation, that is to say, if *yaT* is suffixed to √stṛ-, the resultant kṛt-derivative must be barytonic according to P.'s rule : *yato'nāvaḥ* (*A* 6,1,213); and second, that the perispomenon of *astaryā̂* occurring in *MaiS* 1,5,10, contradicts the oxytonesis of *astaryā́*, since P. specifically

teaches in the rule: *kṛtya-uka-iṣṇuc cārvādayaś ca* (*A* 6,2,160), that a negative compound whose second component is made by means of the gerundive suffix in-*ya*- and others, is oxytonic. To put it particularly, the negative compound *astaryā́* (f.) must be oxytonic according to A 6, 2, 160 while *stā́rya*- must be barytonic in P's system of accentuation through the force of *A* 6,1,213, if *yaT* is the suffix with which both the words are formed.

6. . . . . . *The Samādhāna-*

I may now suggest a more convenient solution than the one suggested by Thieme. We have, of course, to tamper with the sandhi of " . . . *staryādhvarya* . . . " (occurring in *A* 3,1,123), and dissolve the words as follows : " . . . *starya* + *adhvarya* . . . " I now read *starya*- in lieu of *staryā* and *adhvarya*- instead of *dhvarya*-. In fact the gerundive adjective *starya*- will take proper care of the masculine *staryaḥ* and the fem. *staryā*. Therefore the supposition of the *Kāśikā* that *staryā* must be treated as a *nipātana* only in the feminine, runs on slippery grounds. Neither in the *Mahābhāṣyam* nor in the *Kāśikā* do we find any Vedic illustration for *staryā* and *dhvarya*-. Consequently a student of P. and the Veda is legitimately tempted to refurbish the text of the *Mahābhāṣyam* (II.88.I) as follows : *caturbhyaś ca yato vidhiḥ/maryaḥ, staryaḥ, adhvaryaḥ, khanyaḥ/*

Having dissolved the sandhi of *staryādhvarya*- as *starya*- and *adhvarya*-, we may now bring a 'rapprochement' between P. and ŚB. To explain fully, the barytonic *stáryān* and the oxytonic *astaryā́ḥ*, both of which belong exclusively to the property of ŚB, could be perfectly justified in the light of P.'s accent rules, 6,1,213

and 6,2,160 respectively. If my interpretation is correct, I think here lies the proof for P.'s acquaintance with ŚB.

My justification for accepting the reading, *stárya-* and *adhvaryá-* stems from another important consideration. The word *dhvarya-* is attested neither in the *Saṁhitās* nor in the *Brāhmaṇa* texts. But the negative compound, *adhvayaḥ* occurs in the famous *Prāyaścitti* hymn of *KāṭhaS* 35,7 (= KKS 48,9) :

adhvaryò'yáṁ yajñó astu : "Let this sacrifice be unimpaired". Thieme (op. cit., 24) again hypothesises that P.'s *dhvarya-* (√*dhvṛ* + *yaT*) might go back to *adhvaryâ-* in the same way as *staryā* is abstracted from *astaryā*. Obviously his hypothesis runs on uncertain grounds. It may incidentally be pointed out that Roth-Boehtlingk (*PW*, p. 1261) record *stárya-* (not *staryā*) with the following note :

> stárya (von 1. star) adj. Pāṇ. 3,1,123, niederzustrecken, ŚB 2.2.2.10.

Consequently I am led to believe that P. might have had *starya-* and *adhvarya-* in his mind, although his commentators have dissolved the sandhi of *staryādhvarya-* as *staryā* and *dhvarya-* without any justification whatsoever. As has been rightly stated by Thieme (*Introduction*, p.xi, f.), "none of the later interpreters took the trouble of questioning the completeness of the Vedic details given by Pāṇini, which was taken for granted already by Patañjali".

Yet one difficulty remains to be solved. We get into trouble with the accent of the negative compounds, *adhvaryâḥ* (a√*dhvṛ*+*yaT*) occuring in *KāṭhaS* 35,7 and *astaryâḥ* (*a*√*stṛ* + *yaT*) attested by *MaiS* 1,5,10. In conformity with the rule *A* 6,2,160, both the negative

compounds must be oxytonic, whereas these derivatives in *-ya-* are perispomenised in the Veda. This apparent irregularity between P. and the Veda in the system of accentuation could be explained by adding Vedic *adhvaryâ-* and *astaryâ-* to the list of permutations (*vyatyaya-s*) taught by P. in the rule : *vyatyayo bahulam* (*A* 3,1,85). To explain fully, both words are perispomenised in the Veda on the strength of the rule: *tit svaritam* (*A* 6,1,185) which, although not actually prescribed here for operation, replaces *A* 6,2,160 which is applicable *sensu stricto* in this particular situation. That both the negative words in *-ya-* are clear instances of *svara-vyatyaya-s*, is shown by the fact that P. has treated these as *nipātanas*.

7. . . . . . *Conclusion*

The problem posed here, although not exhaustive, is sufficient enough to furnish us with the following criteria governing the relevancy and applicability of P.'s rules to Vedic facts :

(i) P. has minutely observed the linguistic peculiarities of several Vedic texts which are intimately known to him and which appear more or less in the same form as these have been handed down to us through an unbroken, oral tradition.

(ii) The Pāṇinian commentators did not approach the problem *au grand sérieux*, what kind of Vedic texts furnished P. with the *nipātana*-words taught in *A* 3,1,123 — a rule which was commented upon by them in a rather lethargic mood, without providing us with apt Vedic illustrations.

(iii) In consequence of (i) and)ii), a student of P. and the Veda is legitimately inclined to dissolve the sandhi of *staryādhvarya-* in *A* 3,1,123 as '*starya-*' and '*adhvarya-*' (against Pāṇinīyas). If this interpretation holds good, here lies one positive clue regarding P.'s acquaintance with the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* text.

(iv) It is now admitted beyond doubt that P. has drawn *devahūya-* exclusively from *ṚV, khanya-* and *brahmavādya-* from *TS, ucchiṣya-* and *praṇīya-* from *MaiS* and *upacāyya- pṛḍam* from *KāṭhaS*. Correspondingly, the forms *stárya-* and *adhvarya-* which exclusively belong to the domains of ŚB and *KāṭhaS* respectively, are known to Ācarya P ā ṇ i n i, a *śrotriya-* par excellence.

ABBREVIATIONS

A	...	*Aṣṭādhyāyī*
AV	...	*Atharva veda-saṁhitā*
KKS	...	*Kapiṣṭhala-kaṭha-saṁhitā*
KāṭhaS	...	*Kāṭhaka-Saṁhitā*
MaiS	...	*Maitrāyaṇīya-Saṁhitā*
PW	...	*Sanskrit Woerterbuch, st. Petersburg*
ṚV	...	*Ṛgveda-saṁhitā*
SBE	...	*Sacred Books of the East*
Sid-Kau	...	*Siddhānta-Kaumudī*
TS	...	*Taittirīya-saṁhitā*

PRATĪTYASAMUTPĀDA AS VIEWD BY THE KĀLACAKRA SCHOOL

BISWANATH BANERJEE

Visva-Bharati, Santiniketan.

Pratītyasamutpāda or Causal Genesis or the Law of Dependent Origination forms the basic concept of Buddhist Philosophy and is held as an original contribution of the Buddha to Indian and World thought.

Etymologically the terms *Pratītyasamutpāda* means that every object is subject to dissolution, and dissolved objects appear again and again. The Law explains the fixed, unchangeable, and this-conditioned nature of things. Modern scholars have offered varied explanations of the origin and significance of the formula. The theory, however, is not intended to be an explanation of the origin of the world. It is a chain of instances to illustrate the dependent origination of things. A thing originates not by itself nor without a cause but depending on certain other things it originates as a fruition. The chain does not demonstrate a course of evolution but moves in a circle without a beginning or end and having no reference to time and place. The phenomenal existence is represented as a wheel with twelve spokes. The early Buddhists utilised this theory to show that the constituted objects have no substantiality as they have a preceding cause and condition. The Mahāyānists have used this formula to establish that the world is relatively existent and as such is unreal like the objects seen in a dream.

From a study of the different schools of Buddhism it becomes clear that though a wide difference of opinion exists among them on many points in the interpretation of the theory, they are all agreed on the central importance of this law. There is complete unanimity among them with regard to the fact that the *Truth*, as conceived by each of them, is attainable through the comprehension of the Causal Law. These schools are unanimous in holding : *yaḥ pratītyasamutpādaṁ paśyati so dharmaṁ paśyati, yo dharmaṁ paśyati so Buddhaṁ paśyati.* Nāgārjuna even identifies *Pratītyasamutpāda* with *Śūnyatā: yaḥ pratītyasamutpādaḥ śūnyatāṁ taṁ pracakṣate.*

It is, however, to be remembered that these schools are agreed on the importance of the principle as a key to the *Truth* but interpret and explain the theory in the light of their respective teachings.

The Kālacakra school, the latest phase of Buddhism, views the Law from a different angle. The *Laghu-Kālacakratantra* contains five verses (*verses : 113-117*) in the first chapter, which deal with the theory of the *Pratītyasamutpāda*.

It appears from available materials that the Buddhists of the Kālacakra school are great masters of Astronomy and Astrology and all the teachings and philosophy of the school centre round *Time* (Kāla). *Kāla* is the source of everything in this Phenomenal world. The *Wheel of time* is ever revolving with the movement of the Sun causing birth, decay, death, and so on in the process.

The Buddhist theory of the *Pratītyasamutpāda* is interpreted by this school as the movement of the Sun through the twelve Zodiacal signs in twelve months.

To understand life and the cause of life, to know the real nature of the phenomenal objects, one should comprehend this movement and the process. To put an end to the mass of evils is to stop it.

The verses run thus :

Puṣye māse tvavidyā makaragataravau kumbha-
Sūrye ca māghe

Saṃskāro mīna-sūrye bhavati narapate phālgune
meṣa-sūrye

vijñānaṃ nāmarūpaṃ vṛṣa mithunagate caitrāvaiśā-
kha-jyaiṣṭhe

netrādyaṃ karkaṭe'rke-bhavati hari-ravau sparś-
anaṃ vedanā ca // 113.

āṣāḍhe śrāvaṇe yoṣid api tulagate bhādramāse-
'śvine ca

tṛṣṇopādānam eva prabhavati ca bhavaḥ kārtike
vṛścike' rke

jātiś cāpastha Sūrye maraṇamapi tathā mārgaśīrṣe
krameṇa

Evaṃ sūryendubhedair ubhayagativaśād dvādasāṅ-
gāni rājan // 114.

puṣye māghebhisandhau makaragataravau tatra
vāre tvavidyā

tasmān mṛtyu dvitīye bhavati narapate jātirevaṃ
tṛtīye

evaṃ sarvaṃ bhavādyaṃ kramagatiguṇitam dvāda-
śāṅgāni yāvat

tasmād vahnyabdhivāṇaṃ makaragativaśāt ṣaṣṭha-
māṅgaṃ kadācit // 115.

pakṣa tithyākhyavāraiḥ ravicaraṇavaśāt ṣolaśāṅgaiḥ kadācit
saṃskāro māghasandhau kalaśagataravau tatra saṃskāra eva
vijñānaṃ tad dvītye prabhavati divase nāmarūpaṃ tṛtīye
evaṃ māsadvaye'ṅgaṃ bhavati ravivaśāt sṛṣṭisaṃhārayogāt // 116.
Tatrāvidyādyamaṅgaṃ viṣamamapi bhavecchobhanaṃ sarvakārye
saṃskārādyaṃ samaṃ yat tvaśubhamapi sadā sekayātrāvivāhe
evaṃ pakṣaprabhedaiḥ śaśigamanavaśād dvādaśāṅgāni yāni
śukle kṛṣṇe ca pakṣe prathamatithivaśāt sṛṣṭisaṃhārayogāt // 117.

The contents of the verses mentioned above are as follows : the Sun having gone into the Zod. sign of makara in the month of Puṣya is Ignorance, in the association of Sun with Kumbha is Formation in the month of Magha ; in the combination of Sun and Mīna in Phalguna is Consciousness; in Sun and Meṣa in Caitra is *Mind and Body*; in Sun and Vṛṣa in Vaiśākha are the *six planes,* with the position of the Sun in the sign of Mithuna arises Contact in the month of jyaiṣṭha; the Sun entering into the sign of Karkaṭa gives rise to Emotion in the month of aṣāḍha ; with the combination of Sun and Siṃha rises Craving in the month śrāvaṇa ; the Sun having gone into kanyā gives rise to Attachment in bhadra ; the entry of the Sun into Tulā and Vṛścika in the months of āśvina and Kārtika respectively cause

Becoming and Rebirth ; and the stay of the Sun with Dhanu in the month of mārgaśīrṣa causes Decay and Death.

This is the order of rising of the twelve factors with the movement of the Sun. The reference to the months here, says the *Vimalaprabha*, are all to be understood as the junction of the expiry of the month mentioned in a particular case and the beginning of the following month, e. g., "*puṣyanirgame māgha praveśa dine*".

Avidyā or Ignorance is understood as the root of all, the primary cause of existence and the Kālacakrayānists place *Avidyā*, the first *nidāna*, in the Sun's entry into the sign of capricorn i. e., with the beginning of the northern movement of the Sun.

Time flows on with the movement of the Sun through the Zodiacal signs and the twelve links (*dvādaśāṅga*) of the *Pratītyasamutpāda* are connected with the twelve Zodiacal signs in twelve months.

The order of the *nidānas* which we get in the verses above takes place in relation with the bright or dark fortnight of the months. In the bright fortnight of the month it is in the order of creation and in the dark fortnight it is in the order of destruction. These orders (creation-destruction, *sṛṣṭi-saṃhārayogāt*) may refer to the *anuloma* and *pratiloma* orders. The chain of Causation is to be understood, then, in both these orders.

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CALCUTTA-TOKYO LANGUAGE AXIS

P. N. BANERJEE

Paradoxical as it may sound, the Bengali and Japanese languages are strikingly akin to each other. Morphologically, syntactically, lexically and idiomatically there are striking parallelisms between these two great oriental languages, specially in their present-day colloquial forms prevalent at Calcutta and Tokyo.

There is no article in Japanese, and pure Japanese nouns, like pure Bangali nouns, normally do not indicate gender and number. Let us take, for example, the Japanese, word *inu* (dog) and its Bengali equivalent *kukur*. In Japanese as in Bengali, the word may mean either dog or dogs, bitch or bitches. Of course, if it is desired to emphasise the gender, special words like *o* (short for *osu*) and *me* (short of *mesu*) may be prefixed to *inu* forming *o-inu* and *me-inu* meaning dog and bitch respectively. Similarly, by adding *maddā* and *mādi* to *kukur*, we get in Bengali the words for both the sexes of the animal in question. Japanese, like Bangali, has a number of endings for indicating number, although it is not the general practice to use them. One of these plural endings is the common termination *ra*. Thus, by adding it we get inu*ra* in Japanese, and kukur-*era* in Bengali to indicate dogs.

Morphology

Japanese, like Bengali, is a highly analytical language. The noun, the adjective and the pronoun do not undergo any flectional changes when used in different cases which are indicated by the addition of postpositions as in Bengali. Let us take, for instance, any noun

at random, say the Japanese for fool which is *baka*. The following table gives in three parallel columns, the Japasese, Bengali and English declensions of this word in the three languages concerned :—

Case	*Japanese*	*Bengali*	*English*
Nom.	baka *ga*	bōkā	the fool
Acc.	baka *wo*	bōkā-*ke*	,,
Dat.	{ baka *ni*	bōkā-*ke*	*to* the fool }
	{ baka *no tameni*	bōkā-r *jonnō*	*for* the fool }
Gen.	baka *no*	bōkā-r	the fool's
Abl.	baka *kara*	bōkā-*hōte*	from the fool
Instr.	baka *ni*	bōkā-r *dārā*	by the fool
Loc.	{ baka *de*	bōkā-te	in the fool }
	{ baka *no ueni*	bōkā-r opore	on the fool }

It will be seen that the oblique cases in Japanese are obtained, as in Bengali, by the addition of appropriate postpositions, the basic word (noun) retaining all the time its original form. The adjective in Japanese which is placed before the noun remains unchanged in gender, number and case like a pure Bengali adjective. Take, for instance, the adjective *yoi* (good). By adding it to *otoko* (man) and to *onna* (woman) we get the following paradigm :

	Singular		*Plural*	
Nom.	*Yoi* (otoko (onna	ga	*Yoi* (otokotachi (onnatachi	ga
Acc.	*Yoi* (otoko (onna	no	*Yoi* (otokotachi (onnatachi	wo wo
Dat. (i)	*Yoi* (otoko (onna	ni	*Yoi* (otokotachi (onnatachi	ni
(ii)	*Yoi* (otoko (onna no tame ni		*Yoi* (otokotachi (onnatachi no tame ni	
Gen.	*Yoi* (otoko (onna	no	*Yoi* (otokotachi (onnatachi	no

It is interesting to compare the above paradigm with the following table giving the corresponding declension in bengali :

	Singular	*Plural*
Nom.	bhālo { batāchhele meye mānush	bhālo { batāchhelera meye mānushera
Acc.	bhālo { batāchhele-*ke* meye mānush-*ke*	bhālo { batāchhele-*digake* meye mānushe-*digate*
Dat. (i)	bhālo { batāchhele-*ke* meye mānush-*ke*	(1) bhālo { batāchhele-*digake* meye mānush-*digake*
(ii)	bhālo { batāchhel-*er gonno* meye mānush-*re* *gonno*	(ii) bhālo { batāchhele-*der* *gonno* meye mānush- *der gonno*
Gen.	bhāle { batachheler meye mānush-*er*	bhālo { batāchhele-*der* meye mānush-*der*

Like the noun and the adjective, the personal pronoun in Japanese remains constant in all cases. In this, it is more analytical than Bengali as will be seen from the following comparative table :—

1st Person.

	Singular	*Japanese*	*Plural*
Nom.	Watakushi	*ga*	Watakushi-domo *ga*
Acc.	Watakushi	*wo*	Watakushi-domo *wo*
Dat.	(1) Watakushi	*ni*	Watakushi-domo *ni*
	(2) ,,	*no tame ni*	,, *no tame ni*

etc., etc.

Bengali		*English*	
Sing.	*Plu.*	*Sing.*	*Plu.*
āmi	āmarā	I	We
āmā-*ke*	āmā-*digāke*	Me	Us
āmā-*ke*	āmā-*digake*	(1) to me	(1) to us
āmā-*rjonnō*	āmā-*der jonno*	(2) for me	(1) for us

2nd Person

Nom.	Anata	*ga*	Anata-gata	*ga*
Acc.	Anata	*wo*	Anata-gata	*wo*
Dat. (1)	Anata	*ni*	Anata-gata	*ni*
(2)	Anata*no tame ni*			
	Anata-gata *no tame ni*			
	etc., etc.			

āpni	āpnā-ra	You	You
āpnā-*ke*	āpnā-*dige ke*	You	You
āpnā-*ke*	āpnā-*diga-ke*	to you	to you (1)
āpnār jonnō	āpnā *der-jonnō*	for you	for you (2)

N. B.—*anata* is the polite form corresponding to *āpni* in Bengali. The less polite forms are *kimi* and *omae* which correspond roughly to Bengali *tumi* and *tui* respectively.

3rd Person.

	Japanese		*Bengali*		*English*	
	Sing.	*Plu.*	*Sing.*	*Plu.*	*Sing.*	*Plu.*
Nom.	are *ga*	arera *ga*	Shay	tārā	he / she	They
Acc.	are *wo*	arera *wo*	tā-ke	tāhā-*digake*	him / her	Them

ete., etc.

Besides *are* there are many words in Japanese for he/she. Like *shay* in Bengali these words may stand either for he or she. The polite form for he/she in Japanese is *ano o kata* corresponding to *tini* in Bengali.

Syntax

The word order in a Japanese sentence follows broadly the same pattern as in Bengali. The following few examples will illustrate this point:—

(1) O ba-san ga mekura in narimashita.
Soko de, o isha san wo yonde :
"Sensei, moshi anata ga watakushi no
me wo naoshite, mata mieru yo ni shite
kudasareba, o rei wo takusan itashimasu; keredomo
naoshite kudasara-nakereba, nanni mo
agemasen. Ko iu koto ni shite wa ikaga de
gozaimasho."

The literal Bengali translation of the above Japanese passage would be :

ek jōn bṛdhhā aundho holen. Takhan dāktār ḍeke (bollen) : moshai, jodi āpni āmār chōk Shāriye ābār dekhte pāri emon kore dite pāren, puraskār jatheṣto debo,

kintu sāriye nā dite pārle, kichui debo nā ay rakam korle kamon hoy ?

The literal English translation of the same passage will be—An old woman blind became. Then doctor calling (said), "Sir, if you my eye curing, again can see like doing give, present much shall make; but curing if give not nothing shall pay. Like this doing how would be ?" While the literal English translation of this Japanese passage makes no sense whatever, its literal Bengali translation is not only syntactically but idiomatically correct. In English, the passage would read : An old woman became blind. Calling a doctor (she said); "If you cure my eyes and enable me to see again, I shall give you a good present. But if you do not cure, I will offer nothing. What do you say to such a line of action ?"

(2) Ikura kenyaku shite mo, rainen no uchi ni kaeri wo kesshite shimau koto wa dekimai to omoimasu.

The literal Bengali translation of the preceding Japanese sentence is—

katō mitabbyay koreō āshche bochorer bhetare rin parishod korte pārbo nā tāi mone hoy.

If the initial word *kato* in the literal Bengali translation is replaced by *atō* the sentence would be idiomatically correct. The literal English translation of the Japanese sentence will be : "how much economy doing even, next year's inside loan repay cannot so think." Needless to say that this is nothing but a farrago of disjointed words. The sentence has to be entirely recast to convey the sense, thus : however much I practise economy, I think I cannot repay the loan by next year.

(3) Komban watakushi hima dattara O KaSan ni tegami wo kitto kakimasho.

The literal Bengali translation of the passage is—

āj shondhyay āmi aboshar hole mātridebike chiṭhi nishchoy likhbo.

Vocbulary

The literal English translation of the same Japanese sentence will be : this evening I leisure if there were mother to letter certainly shall write.

While the literal Bangali translation reads well, in Bengali the literal English translation is clotted nonsense. The proper English translation would be : If I have leisure this evening, I would certainly write a letter to my mother. In some typical Japanese expressions, not only the word order but even the words used are very similar in form and sound. For example, *nai koto wa nai* in Japanese is equivalent to *nāi amon katā noy* in Bengali. The nearest English would be 'not that there is not' i. e. there are some. An extended form of this expression in Japanese *ika nai koto wa nai*=Bengali *jābo na amon katā noy* (The verb *iku* in Japanese corresponds to *jāwa* in Bengali). Rendered into English the sentence will read : not that I would not go—i. e. I shall go. Similarly, it is interesting to compare the common Japanese expression, *baka na koto wo iuna* with its Bengali equivalent *bōkar moto katā bōlō nā* (Don't talk like a fool.)

There are some Japanese words like *baka* (fool), *sara* (plate), *namae* (name), *sokoni* (there) and *itatte* (extremely) which have their counterparts in Bengali *bōka, shara, nām, sekhane, ottanto.* There are many particles, interjections and onomatopoetic words in Japanese which have close parallels in Bengali. The Japanese interrogative particle *ka* corresponds to the Bengali *ki*, and like it is placed at the end of an interrogative sentence. For

example, the English sentence 'Have you got it ?' will read as 'anata wa motte imasu *ka*' in Japanese and 'āpnar kāche āche *ki* 'in Bengali. Both Japanese and Bengali add *na* at the end of a verb in the imperative mood in two different senses, the one being negative and the other affective-exhortative. The first meaning (negative) is illustrated in a Japanese sentence like ' sonna koto wo *iuna*' and in its Bengali equivalents 'amon katā bōlō *na*' (Don't say such a thing). The second meaning is illustrated in such short sentences as 'otabe*na*, kudasai*na*' and their Bengali equivalents : khān *nā, din nā* (Please eat, please give it). Another imperative verbal ending *ro* in Japanese has its parallel in Bengali *re* as in tabe*ro* in Japanese and khā *re* in Bengali.

The Japanese interjections *ma, ara* with their extended forms *oya ma* and *ara ara* are represented in Bengali by *māgo, āre,* ō mā *āre āre*. One or two examples will illustrate the similarity in usage between Japanese and Bengali. Thus, the Japanese sentence : *ma, nanno oto desho* would be in Bengali : māgo, *ki shabdo hote pāre* ? meaning : Oh ! what noise could this be ? Let us take another typical Japanese sentence containing the intensive interjection *are ara : ara ara* asoko wo goran nasai, and compare it with the corresponding Bengali sentence conveying the same sense *āre, āre, ō dike dekun* (well, well, look over there).

There are many onomatopoetic words in Japanese with striking paralles in Bengali as will appear from the following table :—

Japanese	*Bengali*	*English*
doki doki	dhuk dhuk	Pit-a-pat
gara gara	ghaṛ ghaṛ	(sound of heart-beat)
		sound of rattling sound,

gasa gasa	khash khash	sound of rustling sound.
goro goro	goṛ goṛ	sound of rumbling sound.
musha musha	mashāmash	sound of munching sound.
tobo tobo	thap thap	sound of shuffling gait.

The use of these words in sentences in both Japanese and Bengali will further illustrate their affinity. The Japanese commonly say 'mune ga *doki doki* suru' as we say in Bengali 'buk *dhuk dhuk* korche.' The Japanese word *suru* following *doki doki* is the same as the Bengali word *korche*. The nearest English equivalent would be : the heart goes pit-a-pat. Let us compare the use of the onomatopoetic Japanese word *gara gara* in 'gyusha ga gara gara kimashita' with that of the Bengali 'gorur gāṛi ghoṛ ghoṛ kore elo' (the bullock cart came with a rattling sound). Incidentally, the Japanese word *gyusha* which is of learned origin resembles the Bengali word *go shakaṭ*. The English sentence, the bear came out of the thicket with a rustling noise would be : 'kuma ga yabū kara *gasa gasa* dete kimashita' in Japanese and, bhāduk jhōṅp theke khash khash kore beriye elo' in Bengali. The Japanese—kaminari ga *goro goro* narimasu (the thunder is rumbling)—would be in Bengali : megh goṛ goṛ kore dākche. The Japanese say : ara wa *musha musha* tabemasu, as we say in Bengali : Shay mashā mashkore khāchche, the meaning in both cases being : he is eating with a munching sound. The English sentence—he is walking with a shuffling gait—would be expressed in the same way in Japanese and Bengali by making use of a similar onomatopoetic word, thus : Ara wa *tobotobo* aruite ikimasu, in Japanese, and 'shay thap thap kore hiṅte jāchche' in Bengali.

The Japanese use *dara dara* as the Bengalees use *dar dar* in speaking of copious perspiration. For example

dara dara ase ga deru in Japanese is in Bengali : dar dar kore ghām paṛche (perspiration is coming out copiously.

Idiom

Japanese has quite a few common idioms and turns of expression which have striking parallels in Bengali. To give only a few instances at random, 'hone ori no shigoto' has an exact equivalent in the Bengali idiom : hāṛ bhāṅgā khatuni, the Japanese compound word *hone-ori* meaning, like its counterpart in Bengali, bone-breaking. *Do shite* in Japanese=ki kore in Bengali (how : literally, what doing). For example: Do shite suru no desu ka ? in Japanese is equivalent to : ki kore karā hoy ? in Bengali (How is this done ?)

The Japanese idiom *chichikusai* and its Bengali equivalent *duder gando beroy* is commonly used to mean raw, inexperienced (literally, milk-smelling). For example, 'ano hito wa mada chichikusai' has an exact equivalent in Bengali : ōr mak diye akhono duder gando beroy. In English this would read : He is still callow (His mouth still smells of milk). Some common Japanese verbs like *miru, oku, iku* which in bengali are *dekā, rākā, jāwā,* have special idiomatic usage when preceded by other verbs in the gerund. For example, *Kangaete miru* which in Bengali is *bhebe, dekā* (Kangeru being equivalent to think) means to think over (literally, thinking see). Similarly totte oku=*niye rākā* (toru=take and oku=keep) means to put by (lit. taking keep). Compare a typical Japanese sentence : Kore wo totte oite o kure, with its literal Bengali translation : *eṭā niye reke daō* (Put this by; lit, this taking keeping give). Let us take an English sentence like 'Hadn't you better tell your father ? The Japanese say : O to san ni hanashite mitara ii ja nai ka ?

The literal Bengali translation of this sentence will be : pitridebke bole dekle bhālo hoy nā ki ? The English verb 'to obey' is commonly rendered both in Japanese and in Bengali exactly in the same way, namely, to listen to one's word : *iu koto wo kiku* in Japanese and *kotā shonā* in Bengali. In this connection it is interesting to compare *yonde kikaseru* with its literal Bengali translation and idiomatic equivalent *poṛe shōnāna* both meaning to read over. To have loose motions is *hara ga kudaru* in Japanese and *peṭ nāmā* in Bengali, both meanihg literally, the belly to descend.

From this short sketch it is abundantly clear that the Japanese and Bengali languages have many common features.

INTELLECTUAL MOVEMENTS OF IRANIANS IN RELATION TO NON-IRANIAN CULTURAL INFLUENCES

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Just as individuals are affected in many ways by influences from different persons and in turn they exercise their own influence upon others, so do the nations. It will be seen from this article how various nations influenced the people of Iran culturally and how the Iranians reacted to those influences in a cultural manner down the ages up to the end of Arab rule over them in the ninth century after christ.

Introduction of Alphabet Into Iran

There is a legend that in the reign of King Tahmuras of the Pishdadian dynasty of Iran, certain demons were captured and were about to be slain, but they pleaded with the King to save their lives and in return, offered to instruct him in the art of writing in different scripts. According to the Pahlavi book "Mino-e-Kherad" Chapter XXVII, 21-23 (West's translation in the Sacred Books of the East Series, Volume XXIV, pp. 58-59), the chief of the demons taught the King the art of writing in seven different scripts. Ferdausi, in "*The Shah Nameh*" recounts this tale, refers to thirty scripts, but names six only, the Roman, Persian, Arabic, Soghdian, Chinese and Pahlavi. (*Vide* "*The Shah Nameh* of Firdausi." Done into English by Warner and Warner, Volume I, p. 27). I provide an explanation of this legend.

These so called "demons" who introduced into Iran the art of writing in symbolic characters were the ancient Arameans. Here, I might mention that amongst the pre-Islamic Iranians, foreigners or non-Iranians and non-Zoroastrians were often called by such appellations as *diy* (demon) and *dregvant* (liar), in much the same derisive way as Moslems used to call non-Moslems *Kafers* (Infidels) and Christians used to call non-Christans Pagans. These Arameans, who were amongst the earliest mercantile community of the world to visit distant lands introduced into Iran the art of writing through contacts with its inhabitants as traders and barterers. (*Vide* H. G. Wells, *The Outline of History,* Edition of 1931, pp. 191-193). Again, according to the Western scholars, the Avestan and Pahlavi Alphabets are ultimately derived from the old Aramaic characters. (*Vide* the Article of Junker on "The Origin of Avestan Alphabet," in *Dr. Modi Memorial Volume,* pp. 767-768). Thus, the two findings of Western scholars firstly that the Arameans sojourned in Iran in ancient ages during which they showed to the Iranians the art of writing in symbolic characters and secondly that the origin of ancient Iranian Alphabets is Aramaic, provide the clues that these so called "demons" of Tahmuras were the Arameans who introduced into Iran the art of writing in Alphabets.

Iranians Improve The Semitic Alphabet

But how did the Iranians react to this cultural contact? The Aramaic characters had hardly any vowels. They consisted mostly of consonants, like the Hebrew and Arabic. (Vide *The Alphabet,* by David Dirringer pp. 253 *et seq.* for the Hebrew Aramaic, and pp. 304 *et seq*. for the Iranian Alphabets). It was the genius of Iran

that improvised vowels, and the Avestan Alphabet contains some fourteen vowels and compared to three at the most of the present Perso-Arabic script namely *alef*, *waw* and *va* or six of the Roman script *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u* and occasionally *v*. According to Professor Poure Davoud, the Avestan Alphabet is the most appropriate of all the Alphabets of the world to convey adequately the various Iranian speech sounds. He deprecates the suggestion of some Iranians of the present day that the Roman script should be adopted for writing the Modern Persian language because, according to him, the Iranians already possess their own national and phonetically perfect Avestan script for writing the language of modern Iran. The reader who is interested in this topic of determining the most suitable script for Persian in the present age might well acquaint himself with the contents of the two discourses in Persian of professor Poure Davoud on *Din Dahireh* or the Avestan script, one appearing in his translation of the *Gathas* of Zarathushtra, (First Edition of 1927, pp. 16-20) and the other in his *Pouran Dokht Nameh* (Edition of 1928, pp. 16-17).

Iranians have cultural contacts with Vedic Aryans.

Another early cultural contact the Iranians had was with the Vedic Brahmins. There is a Persian tradition that Changhraghacha (Shankaracharya ?) and Vyas, two sages of India, had a discussion with Zarathushtra, the prophet of ancient Iran on ethical and spiritual subjects and were convinced of the truth preached by him. (*Vide* Williams Jackson, *Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran*, pp. 85-88). There is a reference in the Avestan literature to one Gaotama (*Farvardin Yasht* paragraph 16). Some orientalists like Tiele take him to

be the sage mentioned by that name in the Vedas, while others like Haug and Darmesteter consider him to be the Buddha himself. He is depicted in Avestan as one defeated in a controversy with the Iranians. Considering the fact that the Avestan literature is contemporaneous with the Vedic, the late Dastur Dr. Darab Sanjana holds the verdict of Tiele to be the correct one, and Professor Poure Davoud rejects the opinions of Haug and Darmesteter for a number of reasons he specifices (Vide "*Gaotama in the Avesta*", by Dastur Dr. Darab Peshotan Sanjana, pp. 7-8 and Poure Davoud's article in Persian entitled *Gaotam* in his Persian translation of the *Yashts*, Volume II, pp. 28-40). In the *Vedas* themselves there are references to Goshtasp and other heroes of Iran, who lived in the time of Zarathushtra, besides some of the other Pishdadians and Kayanians. At one place in the *Rig Veda*, even the Persians and Parthians are distinctly mentioned by name. Vedic divinities like Indra, Sharva and Nasatya are referred to as demons in Avestan and are named Indra, Saurva and Naonghaithya at *Vendidad* X 9 and XIX 43. All these matters connected with references to the ancient Iranians in the *Rig Veda* are discussed at length by Martin Haug in his *Essays on the Parsis* and by Shapurji Kavasji Hodivala in his book *Zarathushtra and His Contemporaries in the Rig Veda*.

Iranian Magi become a Famous Tribe

It might be added that magi, the most renowned people of Iran, are the only Aryan tribe who are mentioned by name in all the three major Semitic scriptures. In the Hebrew text of the Old Testament at *Jeremiah*

39 : 3, this name occurs in the title *Rab Mag* or Lord Magus. In the Greek text of the New Testament at *Matthew* 2 : 1 it occurs as *Magoi* and is translated in the Authorised Version as "wise men". In the Arabic text of the *Qur'an* at Surah *Al-Hajj* verse 17, it occurs as *Majoos* or "Magians". This topic is discussed in the Essay in Persian of Mohammad Jawad Mashkoor entitled "*Magi as Mentioned in Semitic Holy Books*", in Publication No. 4 (pp. 92-106) of Iranology Society, Teheran. These Magi are mentioned as *Maga* by Zarathushtra in his *Gathas* at *Yasna* 29 : 11 and 46 : 14. Ardeshir Khabardar in the Glossary at the end of his work *New Light on the Gathas of Holy Zarathushtra* has noted the fact that this name *Maga* occurs in the *Rig Veda* and Dr. Irach Taraporewala in his work *The Divine Songs of Zarathushtra,* in commenting upon these Gathic verses says that *Maga* are a people from Shaka-dvīpa who are mentioned in the ancient Indian *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* also. Thus the Magi, the most renowned people of Iran, happen to receive express notices in all the five major religious literatures of the world, the Zoroastrian, Brahmanic, Hebrew, Christian and Moslem. Some ancient Greeks, Aristotle among them, have noted the fact of the Magi being older than even the Egyptians. Stray references in the Avestan and Vedic literature to the Gods and heroes of one another disclose the earliest historical contacts the dwellers of Merv and Gandhara had with the inhabitants of the Punjab and Sind. These last two regions are also mentioned by name in Avestan as *Hapta Hindu* or the region of the seven rivers and as *Hindva* or the region of the Indus (*Vide* Kavasji Kanga's "*Avesta Dictionary*" foot note, on pp. 577-78 and the last word on p. 588). Conversely

Merv as Meru and Gandhara are both mentioned by name in Sanskrit literature.

Wars Between Iran and Turan

The next are the Turanians of western Turkistan, who exercised influence on the Iranians with respect to their martial spirit. The wars between the Iranians and Turanians described in *the Shah Nameh,* of Ferdausi are even grander in concept and description than any mythological or historical war narrated either in the *Illiad, Odyssey* or *Mahābhārata.* These Turko-Iranian wars brought out and developed the true martial spirit of the Iranian nation which stood them in good stead during later ages in their wars against other hostile nations. One of the tactics employed and developed in these wars is commonly known as scorched earth policy, *i.e.* burning and destroying every thing in the path of a pursuing enemy so as to slow down and even arrest his advance. This Iranian tactic was employed successfully by the Parthians against the Romans during the centuries preceding and following the birth of Christ and recently by the Russians against the Germans during 1941-1943 A. C. On the authority of a number of Pahlavi works, Sohrab Bulsara has shown that well known Turanians such as Fryana (known as Piran in *the Shah-Nameh*) Yoishta-Fryana and Aghraeratha (Agreras of *The Shah Nameh*) known as Prince of Gopat in Pahlavi literature), were the first converts to the Zoroastrain faith. (See *The Religion of Zarashushtra Among non-Iranian Nations,* pp. 16-19). Zoroastrian religion must have survived among them down to comparatively later ages, for Edward Gibbon has noted the fact that Altai Turks were professing the religion of Zarathushtra (*Decline and Fall of the Roman*

Empire, Chapter XLII) round about sixth century of the Christian Era.

Iranian Cultural Contacts with other Western Nations

Other cultural contacts the Medes and the Persians had were with the Elamites, Assyrians, Babylonians and Egyptians. The Elamites and Assyrians were conquered by the Medes and thereafter the Babylonians and Egyptians were conquered by the Persians. The sculptural bas-reliefs, rock inscriptions and engraved figures of the Achaemenian Persians display strong Elamite, Assyrian, Babylonian and Egyptian influences. Firstly, most of the major Old Persian inscriptions are accompanied by their translation in the Elamite language along with the Babylonian. Secondly, the typical figure of the Assyrian Bull is observed even in Persian bas-reliefs. Thirdly, the Egyptian winged figure has become the proto-type of the Iranian *Khoreh* or the Royal Glory engraved on the rocks over the Persian figures. Conversely, the Assyrian inscriptions refer to the Medes while an inscription of Darius the Persian has been discovered at Suez in Egypt. Sohrab Bulsara has noted the fact that several names of Babylonian divinities have an Iranian impress. Besides that, Iranian influences are discernible in the ancient Egyptian script, calendar, beliefs in certain divinities connected with worship of the Sun, the mode of disposal of the dead and in the life hereafter. (Vide "*The Religion of Zarathushtra Among non-Iranian Nations*", pp. 2-7 and 20-22). These particulars show the cultural contacts the Medes and the Persians had with their Western neighbours, the Elamites, Assyrian, Babylonians and Egyptians, two thousand five hundred years ago. For details one may refer to *Ancient Monarchies* of George

Rawlinson and numerous other archaeological works of Tolman, Herzfeld and Cameron dealing with ancient rock inscriptions and tablets found in the Near East and Iran. In fact, even Hebrews of the prophetic ages were influenced by Zoroastrian rites and modes of worship. At *Ezekiel* 8 : 16-17 there appears to be a reference to certain Jews who worshipped the rising sun with *Barsam* twigs.

Iranian influence on Post-Exilic Jews.

Coming down to the Achaemenian dynasty it is found that many Jews were employed in the service of Iranian monarchs as secretaries and quite believably, documents of the State of Iran were copied out in the Aramaic and Hebrew languages by these Jewish scribes. Some of these Iranian court decrees in Aramaic and Hebrew have been preserved *Verbatim* in the Books of Ezra, Nehemiah and Esther. On the other hand, Iranian words and idiomatic modes of expression are noticed in the Books of the Major Prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel and Daniel, besides some other Books of the Hebrew Old Testament. Incidentally, beliefs in immortality of the soul and in the future life were borrowed by Jews from the Iranians during the Exilic and the post-Exilic ages. In these matters, the reader can consult profitably, *Zoroastrianism and Judaism,* by George Carter, particularly its Chapter IX. Cyrus the Great, as a matter of state policy, encouraged his subject-nations in the observance of their respective religious customs and rites. He enabled the Jews to rebuild the Temple of Jehovah at Jerusalem and enthroned again the idol of Marduk at Babylon. (See *The History of Ancient Iran,* in Persian by Peer-Naya Volume I, pp. 232 *et seq.* and

History of the Persian Empire by A. T. Olmstead pp. 34 *et seq.*). In all probability, it was this very reason of favours shown to foreign creeds that estranged and antagonised the Achaemenian Kings in the eyes of the devout Zoroastrian priesthood and hence their names have not been recorded in the native registers, although these monarchs in their rock inscriptions invariably pay homage unto Ahura Mazda, the Supreme Diety recognised by Zarathushtra.

Iranians Come In Contact With Buddhism

During the early Parthian period Buddhist preachers had crossed over into Balkh and the central region of the Oxus from Nepal and the basin of the Ganges. Those of the Iranians who were attracted by teachings of the Buddha, imported into its propaganda a zest of their own, carried its message across the steppes to the Far East and translated several books on Buddhistic teachings into the Chinese language, some of which with their translations have survived even to the present day. (See the article of Kentak Hori of Imperial University, Tokyo, entitled *Persian Buddhist Translators in China* in Dastur Hoshang Memonial Volume, pp. 509-513 and the Article of Poure Davoud in Persian entitled *Gaotam* in his *Yashts* Volume II, pp. 28-37). Nav Bahar of Balkh was a great Iranian Buddhist *Vihara* or monastery and the ancestors of the Barmakites were the *Para-maka* or *Pramukhs* or Deans of its Monastic Chapter. The name of the town Bokhara is a Turkish adaptation of the Buddhistic word *Vihara*, for there had been many Buddhist shrines in the region of Balkh and Bokhara during those ages. (See the derivation of the names *Bokhara*, *Barmak* and *Bahar* given by Professor Mohammad Moin in Persian in his

foot-notes to these words in his edition of *Borhan-e-Qate*). So, it will be seen how the Iranians reacted to Buddhistic influences and served the cause of Buddhism so devotedly.

Cultural Contacts Between Parthians and Greeks

It was during the Parthian times that Iran came in closer contact with Greek culture through the Seleucids. On a series of coins of the Parthian kings we find inscriptions in Greek. This is natural, since the whole region from the Euphrates to the Indus was under the rule of the Greek Commanders of Alexander for a period of eighty years, from 330 B. C. to 250 B.C. before the Parthians established their own rule in the region of Khorasan. According to the Greek biographer Plutarch (46 A. C.-120 A. C.) Orodes, a Parthian Prince was acquainted with the Greek language and literature and could enjoy the representation of a play of Euripides. (Vide George Rawlinson's reference to this statement of Plutarch in "The Sixth Monarchy", p. 424). On the other hand, as pointed out by Theodor Noeldeke (1836 A.C.-1930 A. C.) "Hellenism never touched more than the surface of Persian life" (Quoted by Edward Browne in *Literary History of Persia*, Volume 1, p.6). Nevertheless, some Iranian literary influence on the Greek language can also be discerned as Avestan *Nasks* or sacred writings were done into Greek (Dhalla, *History of Zaroastrianism*, p. 293). In fact, two well known Avestan words have found their way through Ancient Greek even into Modern English. The Avestan word *Pairi-daeza*, which in modern Persian would be *Peeraamoon-e* dezh (the environs of a castle), was adopted by the Greeks as *Paradeisos*, from which is derived the modern English word Paradise.

(Vide derivation of the word Paradise in *The Concise Oxford Dictionary*). Similarly the Avestan word *Shoithra-paiti*, which in Modern Persian would be *shahr-baan* (the mayor of a city or the ruler of a region), was adopted by the Greeks as *Satrapes*, from which is derived the Modern English word Satrap (*Vide* derivation of the word Satrap in *Chamber's Twentieth Century Dictionary*).

Parthians come in touch with Christianity

It was during the middle Parthian period that Jesus Christ was born. According to certain traditions of the Christian Church, three Magi went to Bethlehem in Judea to do obeisance to him. They have been called by various names, but Malchior, Baltasar and Gaspar are the ones that are more familiar. But these are not Magian names and the countries they came from namely Nubia, Chaldea and Tarshish are not Iranian lands. On the other hand, a Syrian Christian tradition records the names of these Magi as Goshan-asp, Hormisdas and Zarvandad. (Vide "The Story of the Magi" by the Rev. H. Heras S. J. p. 5). These are definitely Iranian names. Considering the fact that on the one hand Christ has been called in the New Testament as "The King", (*Matthew* 21 : 5), "The priest" (*Hebrews* 3 : 1) and "The Shepherd" (*John* 10 : 11) and the gifts of gold, frankincense and myrrh as mentioned in *The Gospel of Saint Matthew* (Chapter II verse 11) are taken to be the royal, priestly and pastoral gifts respectively and on the other hand, that in ancient Iran there had been three great Cathedral Fire Temples one called Adar Goshasp situated in Azarbaigan dedicated to the Kings, another called Adar Khordad situated in Pars dedicated to the Priests and the third called Adar Burzi - Mehr situated

in Khorasan dedicated to the Pastors, this writer is disposed to hold that the Magi or "wise men" of the first Gospel were the three officiating functionaries of these three Fire Temples dedicated to Kings, priests and Pastors, situated in Azarbaigan, Pars and Khorasan respectively. (See the history of these three famous Fire Temples of ancient Iran, given by Professor Mohammad Moin in his Thesis in Persian entitled "*Mazdayasna and its influence on Persian Literature*", pp. 197-231). It is also recorded in the New Testament in *The Acts of the Apostles* (Chapter II), that Saint Peter, the first Vicar of Christ, preached to the Parthians amongst others at Jerusalem on the day of Penticost and according to early Ecclesiastical historians, Saint Thomas, an Apostle of Christ preached in Parthia, in Northern India and Malabar. (See *The Two Apostles of India*, by the Rev. Henry Heras S. J. and published by The Catholic Truth Society of India, Trichinopoly, 1944). Thus, the Iranians came in direct contact with Christianity at its very inception.

Spread of Mithraism in the Roman Empire

It was during the first century of the Christian Era, that Mithraism, *i. e.* worship of Mithra, the Zoroastrian divinity presiding over the light of the Sun, spread into the then Roman world. H. G. Wells observes, "It is highly probable that he (Saint Paul) had been influenced by Mithraism. He uses phrases curiously like Mithraic phrases." (*Vide* "The Outline of History," Book VI, Chapter 28 Section 5). Poure Davoud has given a very lucid account in Persian of the historical and religious aspects of Mithraism prevailing in the Roman Empire during the first four centuries of the Christian Era (See *Yashts* Volume I pp. 407-420). According to this account in

Persian several Mithraic rites have been incorporated into Christianity by the Pontiffs of Rome. In this connection Poure Davoud says, "In matters of the religion of Jesus, it was considered advisable to adopt the usages and religious rites of Mithraism which had taken deep roots in Rome during a long period of centuries and in this manner bring the religion of Jesus nearer to the prevailing customs of the people of those ages, or else there was no other way to popular appeal. The people had not left off religious observances to be kept on Sundays, the days specially dedicated to the Sun and the 25th of December which is the festival of its advent. So that in the end, during the fourth century of the Christian Era, out of sheer necessity, the 25th of December was fixed as the day of the birth of Christ. Sunday is also considered by the Christians to be the day of the rising of Jesus and the day on which he ascended to heaven just as this day is also considered by worshippers of Mithra as a day specially dedicated to their patron divinity Mithra." (Vide "*Yashts*" Volume I pp. 419-420). From this statement of Poure Davoud, it will be seen that the observance of Sundays and 25th December are really Mithraic festivals adopted in the fourth century as Christian feast-days.

Mani and his Religio

A little before this time, *i. e.* in the third century after Christ, Mani began practising and preaching his religion in Mesopotamia and the neighbouring countries including Iran. He formed his doctrines by a process of syncretism or a sort of synthesis of various beliefs. (See George Rawlinson, *The Seventh Monarchy*, p. 96). Under the influence of Buddhism as preached in Eastern

Iran, Iranian dualistic philosophy, Trinitarian Christianity, various Gnostic cults of Syria, Mesopotamia and Greece, Alexandrian Neo-Platonism, Bobylonian Astronomy and Astrology together with his own observation upon the various phenomena of nature, Mani formulated a speculative system which according to him would lead mankind to salvation. The reader interested in Manichaeism should read the two lectures in Persian delivered by Sayyed Hasan Taqui-Zadeh before the Iranology Society of Teheran, and published by that Society under the title *Mani and his Religion*. As observed by this scholar of Modern Iran in the aforesaid speeches, Mani's doctrines had certain objectionable social and economic features. He advocated celibacy, discouraged propagation of the human race and enforced abject poverty on his followers. Such practices would spell ruin to the welfare of the people and the state and hence Behram then the ruling king of Iran actively and forcefully suppressed Manichaeism. Professor Dr. S. H. Taqui-Zadeh is quite clear on the point that it was not due to any religious or doctrinal differences which Mani had with the Zoraostrian Clergy that he was executed but due to the adverse economic and social factors brought about by some of the perverse practices he advocated and carried out by his followers. In the end such practices would bring disaster to the Iranian nation and mankind in general. (See p. 27 of the Persian text of *Mani and His Religion*).

Christianity in Zoroastrian Iran

If the Iranians were opposed to the Manicheans on economic and social grounds, they were opposed to the Christians on political grounds. Christianity first came

into prominence in the neighbouring regions of Armenia through the propagandist efforts of Gregory the Illuminator himself an Iranian of noble birth. (See *Hasting's Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* Volume I, p. 803, under the caption "Extension of Christianity in Armenian : Saint Gregory the Illuminator"). The Zoroastrian Iranians at first allowed the Armenians complete religious freedom and Yezdegard I even provided them with special facilities and favours (See George Rawlinson, *The seventh Monarchy*, pp. 274-275). But the Armenians abused the religious freedom afforded to them. Abdaas the Bishop of Ctesiphon burnt down the great Fire Temple of that place and refused to rebuild it (*Ibidem*). Whenever a war broke out between the Persians and the Byzantines or Romans, the Armenians took side of the Christian westerners against their own masters, the Zoroastrian Persians (*Ibidem* pp. 304 *et seq*). Under these circumstances, it was no wonder that the Sassanian Kings like Yezdegard I and Yezdegard II embarked upon religious wars against the Armenian and the Persian Christians to reclaim and reconvert them back to Zoroastrianism (*Ibidem*). As pointed out by Professor Edward Browne, a picture of the struggle Sassanians had with the Christians, is preseted by Syrian writers, a source of information not sufficiently used by most orientalists. (Vide *A Literary History of Persia*, Volume I, p. 134).

Sassanian Cultural Contacts With Medieval India

A bright spot during these troubled times is the visit of King Behram-e Goor to India. There is a tradition recorded by Ferdausi and other Persian historians that this King brought from Northern India twelve thousand musicians and settled them in the region that is now

called Lorestan. The fact that modern Lors are the most musical of the present day Iranians lends support to this tale that their distant ancestors were Indian musicians. Thus, in the matter of music, Iran owes much to India. Apart from this, the late Dr. Jivanji Modi, the late Mr. Sohrab Bulsara and others have contributed articles in the Journals of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute of Bombay and elsewhere showing that several paintings in fresco on the walls of certain caves in the western coastal regions of the Indian Peninsula depict court scenes in which Sassanian Persian ambassadors are discernible by their peculiar dresses. In southern India, inscriptions in the Pahlavi language and script are found on old Christian Crosses and hence it is said that the Syrian Christians of South India are really descendants of Persian Christians who had settled there in former times. They are being called Syrians just because they observe liturgy of the Syrian Church and conduct their church services in the Syrian language. Thus, the northern, western and southern Indian peoples had direct cultural contacts with Persians during the Sassanian regime. Various topics dealing with the spread of Christianity in the Near East, Persia and India can be culled out from the corresponding articles in the Roman Catholic Encyclopaedia, which by the way records the fact that one of the Popes of those ages (consecrated 514 A. C.—died 523 A. C.) had borne the name *Hormisdas* a distinctly Persian name. In other words, a Persian had risen to and occupied the highest throne of the Hierarchy.

Iran Rejects Mazdakite Communism

During the next generation, Iranians had to face communistic indoctrination of Mazdak. George Rawlinson

in his *Seventh Monarchy* (p.344) vividly describes the elaborate and clever imposture of Mazdak on the authority of the Persian historian Mirkhond. He says, "He (Mazdak) excavated a cave below the fire-altar, on which he was in the habit of offering and contrived to pass a tube from the cavern to the upper surface of the alter where the sacred flame was maintained perpetually. Having then placed a confederate in the cavern, he invited the attendance of Kobad and in his presence appeared to hold converse with the fire itself, which the Persians viewed as the symbol and embodiment of divinity. The King accepted the miracle as an absolute proof of the divine authority of the new teacher and become thence forth his zealous adherent and follower." Thus, the first communist the world ever saw, commenced his mission with a deliberate hoax and a fraud. As noted by Edward Gibbon, the people of Iran were deluded and influenced by the fanaticism of this communist "who asserted the community of women and the equality of mankind whilst he appropriated the richest lands and most beautiful females to the use of his sectaries." (See Edward Gibbon, *"Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire,"* Chapter XLII). According to the Pahlavi commentator of *Vendidad*, iv. 49, Mazdak himself ate fully, but starved others to death. All these details have been noted by the late Dr. Jivanji Modi in his article "*Mazdak, the Iranian Socialist*" published in *Dastur Hoshang Memorial Volume*, pp. 116-131. According to Ferdausi, it was king Anoshirwan the son of Kobad and his Zoroastrian prelates who ultimately refuted the communistic arguments of Mazdak and saved Iran and the world from the grip of this forerunner of Lenin and Trotsky.

Iranians Interested in Greek and Indian Philosophical Works

But this attitude of Anoshirwan and his prelates should not be taken to mean that they were blind and deaf to new ideas. On the contrary, when the seven Greek sages namely Damascius of Syria, Simplicius of Calicia, Eulamius of Phyrgia, Priscianus of Lydia, Harmeias and Diogenes of Phoenicia and Isidorus of Gaza sought refuge at the court of Iran, Anoshirwan readily welcomed them. These philosophers found that Plato's *Timaeus, Phaedo, Gorgias* and *Parmenides* were among the treatises read by Anoshirwan in a Persian dress. (See George Rawlinson *The Seventh Monarchy* p.448 foot-notes 1 and 5). There is an instance on record depicting tolerance of the King in religious matters. A noted Zoroastrian preceptor embraced Christianity and later became the Patriarch under the name of Mar Aba the Great. The Zoroastrian priesthood clamoured for his death and the law of the country supported them. It was the great admiration that King Anoshirwan held for the Partiarch that saved his life. (See Dhalla, *History of Zoroastrianism* p.329).

This age of Anoshirwan was the golden age of Pahlavi literature. *Khodai-Nameh* or "The Book of Kings", was compiled by his order and the King's physician named Borzuyeh recovered from regions of the Indus and the Ganges the fables of Bidpai (Vidya-pati) popularly known as *Kalileh wa Dimnah* and the particulars about the games of chess and draughts. These were translated from the Indian into the then Persian tongue. The King took special interest in the Greek art of healing and established a University at Gond-e Shahpur in the vicinity of modern Susa where besides medicine, other subjects like philosophy

and rhetoric were also studied. (*Vide* George Rawlinson, *The Seventh Monarchy* pp. 448-450). Thus, the Iranians were quick to absorb wisdom and knowledge from wherever these faculties of enlightenment came and it was this noteworthy ability of the Iranians which caused the prophet of Arabia to remark that even if wisdom be hid amongst the Pleiades, the Iranians would find it out from there. (This saying has been recorded by Professor Mohammad Moin in his Persian Thesis *Mazdayasna and its Influence on Persian Literature,* p.284 and also by Awrang in his Persian book *Monotheism in Ancient Iran,* p. 21).

Contact of Iranians With Arabs And Islam

Towards the end of the Sassanian rule, Mohammad the Prophet of Arabia, began preaching Islam to the Bedouins. Iran had cultural contacts with Arabia even during the pre Islamic times as is shown by the presence of Iranian words in pre-Islamic Arabic poems. (See the last Chapter of the late Professor Dr. U.M. Davoud Pota's thesis, *The Influence of Arabic Poetry on the Development of Persian Poetry*). Salman-e Farsi was one of the earliest Iranians with whom the Prophet came into personal contact and who became one of his most intimate companions. It was he who acquainted the Prophet with the Iranian art of defending a military position by digging trenches (See the Biography in Urdu of Salman-e Farsi by Moin-ud-Din Nadvi in the series entitled *Emigrants*, published by the Daru'l-Musannefeen of Azamgadh, U. P.). Historicity of this anecdote is further reinforced by the fact that the Arabic word for trench *i. e. Khandaque* is adopted from the Pahlavi *Kandak* (Modern Persian *Kandeh*) from the root *Kan* (dig), as in the infinitive *Kandan* (to dig), (See "*Borhan-e Qate*" under

the word *Kandeh*). In fact, there are some forty words in the Arabic *Qur'an* which are etymologically of Iranian origin as has been shown by Arthur Jeffery in his "Foreign Vocabulary of the *Qur'an*". How much the prophet of Islam valued the friendship of Salman-e Farsi and regarded him and his nation as the standard-hearers of Islam in the future, could be seen from the following incident recorded in the Traditions and Annals.

It is related that once the Prophet recited Surah *Mohammad* and when he ended it with the words "And if you turn back, He will bring in your place another people who will not be like unto you", those near him asked the Prophet, "Who are the people who would be even better than what we are?" At that moment Salman-e Farsi happened to be sitting next to the Prophet, so the Prophet clapped his palm upon the thigh of Salman and said, "He and his nation". Then the Prophet continued, "If wisdom were to be hid in the heaven behind the constellation of Pleiades, the pepole of Persia would acquire it somehow even from there also". In the Persan book entitied "*Monotheism in Ancient Iran*" by Awrang this incident is recorded on pp. 20 and 21. (See also the foot-note of George Sale to the last verse of Surah *Mohammad* in his translation of the *Qur'an*). In this connection of the Traditions it might be of interest to note that the most authentic collection of sayings of the Prophet and next in importance to the *Qur'an* namely *Sahih Bokhari* was compiled most scientifically by a Persian. (*Vide* the Article of Brockelmann in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* under *Bukhari* wherein he has stated that Bukhari was a Persian by descent). As for the critical acumen of *Bokhari*, note the statement of Professor Reynold

Nicholson in *A Literary History of the Arabs* on page 146, wherein he says, "We may see now enormous was the number of false Traditions in circulation from the fact that when Bukhari drew up his collection entitled The Genuine, (*al-Sahih*), he limited it to some 7,000 which he picked out of 600,000". Further details about Bokhari and his compilation may be gathered from the discourses of Muhammad Asad (Leopold Weiss) given in his preface to *Sahih al-Bukhari* containing Arabic text and translation in English published by the Arafat Publications Srinagar, Kashmir. According to Mohammad Jawad Mashkoor whose Essay is already referred to, the Arabian tribe of Tamim had a number of its tribal peoples observing Magianism at the advent of Islam. Further, it is also on record that Fire-Temples existed in Arabia during the lifetime of the Prophet. The Chapter entitled "The Influence of Parsism on Islam" by Professor Goldziher and translated by the late Mr. G. K. Nariman in *Persia and Parsis* (Part I) pp. 37-68 and the note thereon by the Translator on pp. 69-74 of that book indicate the strong influence the culture of Sassanian Iran had on Abbasside khelafat. The Pahlavi Tract named *Gajastak Abalish* depicts Khelifeh Mamun presiding over a disputation Adar Fren-e Bagh Farrokh-zad the Grand Mobed of Pars had with Abalish a Zendique or Zoroastrian heretic and upholding the Grand Mobed, while G. K. Nariman in his Note referred to above mentions that al-Kisai, the famous tutor to the sons of Harun ar-Rashid namely Amin and Mamun, was an Iranian, whose Persian name was Bahman Pur-e Firuz. During the next generation, a treatise was composed in Pahlavi-Pazend entitled *Shikand Gumanik Vichar* or "Doubt-dispelling Explanation" to show excellence of the Zoroastrian faith over Judaism,

Christianity, Islam and Manichaenism. This work is still in existence, the text of which has been edited and translated into English, Persian and some other European languages (See also "A Literary History of Persia", by Edward Browne, Volume I, page 106). In fact, the researches of such profound scholars as M. Huart, Von Kremer, Carra de Vaux, and a host of others have shown that the so called Arabian Science is mainly a Persian contribution to the cultural activities that took place in the Islamic countries of the Near and Middle East during the eighth, ninth and tenth centuries A.D. (For details about this topic the reader may consult works of the late Mr. G. K. Nariman).

Shuubiyeh Movement in Iran

But in spite of this formidable Iranian contribution to Islam, certain Arab elements tried to belittle the Persians and their various cultural activities. Hence, those of the enlightened Iranians who had embraced Islam took their stand on a passage from the *Qur'an* (Surah *al-Hujurat* verse 13) which recites "O mankind, verily We have created you of a male and female and have made you nations (*Shuuban*) and tribes (*Qabaayel*) that you may know one another. Verily, the noblest of you in the sight of Allah is the most pious of you." Since as per this verse, the distinction before God is not according to the race (*Shuub*) or community of an individual but according to a person's piety, those Iranians who called themselves of the nations, came to be nicknamed *Shuubiyeh.* They championed the cause of the past glories of Iran and ridiculed the pretensions of the Arabs. Many poets, historians, scientists and administrators, particularly of non-Arab extraction supported

the *Shuubiyeh* movement and it was through the literature left by this Iranian elite that the later chroniclers drew their material for recording achievements of Iranians of the pre-Islamic ages. They provided necessary inspiration and zest for laying the foundation of a future Iranian national state which resulted in Iran throwing off the yoke of the Arabian Khalifahs and regaining their lost political and cultural independence. Numerous translations of Ibnol-Moquaffa, in particular from Pahlavi into Arabic made during eighth century of the Christian Era, enlightened the early Abbasid Khalifahs and the Arabic reading public of that age on the profoundity of Iranian civilisation. (See the Biography in Persian of Abdollah Ibnol-Moquaffa by Abbas Iqbal Ashtiyani, Publication of *Iranschar* No. 15, Berlin 1927). The Arabian rule over Iran thus ended due to the efforts, in the main of the *Shuubiyeh* (See Zahih-Ollah Safa's article entitled *Shuubiyeh* in his Persian book, *The History of Persian Literature*). How strongly the ancient culture of Iranians persisted even amongst the Transoxianians as late as the ninth century of Christian Era can be seen from the fact that Ishaq, an adherent of Abu Muslim who had been extremely helpful in overthrowing the Umayyad Khelafat and setting up the House of Abbas in 750 A. C. had fied amongst these on Abu Muslim's death and preached that that Abu Muslim was a prophet sent by Zoroaster and that Zoroaster was alive and had never died, but would reappear in due season to restore his religion. (See Edward Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, Volume I, p. 315).

Conclusion

From this short survey one can see the indelible stamp of Iranian genius in the various contacts they

made with foreigners whether they be Indians, Armeans, Turanians, Elamites, Assyrians, Babylonians, Egyptians, Hebrews, Greeks, Romans, Chinese, Armenians, Syrians or Arabs. Few nations of yore have shown so much stamina and done so much for others or absorbed so much from others or gave of its own to so many, yet survive as a nation and as a state with a distinctive characteristic of its own from time immemorial to this very day, as has been demonstrated by the great Iranian nation.

Finally, I conclude this article in the manner of Sassanian writers by quoting their customary formula in Pahlavi, with which they usually close their treatises :

FRAJAPT PA DARUPT U SHATIH U RAMISHN

"Completed in Peace und Joy and Pleasure."

ON THE SANSKRIT LITERARY GENRES PARYĀYABANDHA AND SAṀGHĀTA

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1. The Vrajyā, Paryā and Paryāyabandha

While describing the various types of literary compositions or genres Viśvanātha has defined *Kośa* as a collection of verses that are contextually independent from each other, and that *Kcśa* which is arranged in Vrajyās is, according to him, specially attractive.[1] Vrajyā here designates any collection of homogeneous verses, the homogeneity consisting in the sameness of topic. We have several well-known instances of Sanskrit and Prakrit anthologies of stray verses arranged topic-wise into sections called Vrajyā. Vidyākara's *Subhāṣitaratnakośa*[2] (c. 1100 A. D.) consists of fifty Vrajyās which include Vasanta-vrajyā, Māninī-vrajyā, Asatī-vrajyā, Kavistuti-vrajyā, etc. Similarly the Prakrit anthology *Vajjālagga*[3] (after eighth century A. D.) and Sādhāraṇadeva's recension of Hāla's *Saptaśataka* (about fourteenth century A. D.) have Sk. *vrajyā* or Pk. *vajjā* as the section

1. Kośaḥ śloka-samūhas tu syādanyonyānapekṣakaḥ/
Vrajyā-krameṇa racitaḥ sa evā timanoramaḥ.//
Sajātīyānāmekatra sanniveśo Vrajyā, yathā Muktāvalyādi. (*Sāhityadarpaṇa* - 6, 329.)

2. *Subhāṣitaratnakośa*, ed. D. D. *Kosambi* and V. V. *Gokhale* (1957), Introduction p. XXX.

3. *Vajjālaggaṁ* ed. M. V. *Patwardhan* (1969), Introduction p. X.

name. Now *Vrajyā* is indeed "a rare word for 'section."[4] It is otherwise known only in the meaning of 'the act of going or moving'. The connection between the two meanings of *vrajyā* is anything but obvious. The fact is, *Vrajyā* in the sense of 'a topical section of a verse anthology' is not a genuine Sanskrit word. As defined by Viśvanātha and as known from Sanskrit verse anthologies, it is nothing but a Sanskritization of the Prakrit term *Vajjā*. Prakrit *Vajjā* with the meaning *adhikāra* 'topic, section' is recorded by Hemacandra, significantly as a *deśī* word in his *Deśīnāmamālā* (7, 32). Again the *Vajjālagga* equates *Vajjā* with *paddhai*, Sk. *paddhati*, and defines it as a group of Gāthās pertaining to the same subject-matter or topic.[5] Thus according to the *Vājjālagga*, the meaning and function of the term *vajjā* are the same as those of the term *paddhati* used in Sanskrit anthologies like Bhartṛhari's *Nītiśtaka*, Jalhaṇa's *Sūktimuktāvali*, Vallabhadeva's *Subhāṣitāvali*, etc. The meaning *adhikāra* for *vajjā* given by Hemacandra is obviously based on such usage as he found in Prakrit (and Sanskrit) anthologies. But still the question remains : what is the etymological origin of this *vajjā* and how did it come to have the meaning *adhikāra* or *paddhati* ? Outside of the usage of the anthologies, these meanings remain unattested from the rest of Prakrit and Sanskrit literatures. Luckily a remark of Hemacandra helps us to solve the problem.

In his commentary on *Deśīnāma-mālā* 6,I Hemacandra has observed that of the three Prakrit words having the same phonological shape *pājja*, only the one

4. *Kosambi*, Introduction to the *Subhāṣitaratnakośa* p. XXX.

5. ekkathe patthāve jattha paḍhijjaṁti paura-gāhāo/
tam khalu vajjālaggaṁ vajja tti paddhaī bhaṇiyā//
(*Vajjālagga* 4)

meaning 'ladder' is Deśya. The other two with the meanings '*adhikāra*' and '*mārga*' derive respectively from Sanskrit *paryāya* 'a type of composition' and *padyā* 'road'. Now Prakrit *pajjā* and *vajjā* both meaning *adhikāra* cannot be different words. Sanskrit *p*, when medial and intervocal, corresponds to Prakrit *v*. When *pajjā* formed the latter member of a compound as in *vasaṁta-pajjā*, *asaī-pajjā* etc., its *p* could be treated as medial and so be changed to *v*. Thus *pajjā* and *vajjā* both meaning *adhikāra* 'topic, section' derive from Sanskrit *paryāya* through the itermediate form pajjā : paryāya->pajjāa- > vajjā. *Vrajyā* is nothing but false Sanskritization or a sort of back formation devised by Sanskritists who lost sight of the connection between Sanskrit *paryāya* and Prakrit *vajjā*. Feeling some insecurity about the coinage *Vrajyā*, Ratnadeva has offered *padyā* (=*paddhati*, *saraṇi*) as an alternative explanation of Pk. *vajjā* and sought some justification for it from the *Amarakośa*. Hemacandra clearly states that *paryāya* the source of Prakrit *pajjā*, had the meaning of '*prabandhabheda*' 'a type of literary composition'. Ānandavardhana is the earliest authority to refer to the *paryāya* type as *paryāyabandha*. The *Locana* defines it as a verse composition consisting of independent units given to describing a single subject like the spring season.[6]. This definition is borrowed by Hemacandra and the *Agnipurāṇa*, but they have *paryā* and *paryābandha* in the place of *paryāya* and *paryāyabandha*. *Paryā* is just a syllable-to-syllable Sanskritization of the later Prakrit form *pajjā*. The various Sanskrit

6. 'avāntarakriyāsamāptāv api vasantavarṇanādyekavarṇanīyoddeśyena pravṛttaḥ paryāyabandhaḥ. *Locana* on *Dhvanyāloka*, III. 7)

and Prakrit forms of the name of the genre *Paryāyabandha* are to be correlated as under :

Sk. *paryāya* > Pk. *pajjāa*, *pajjā*>Pk. *vajjā*
Pk. *pajjā* > Sk. *paryā*, *padyā*
Pk. *vajjā* > Sk. *vrajyā*-

We may note in passing that the strange developments undergone by the term *paryāya* find a striking parallel in what happened to the term designating the divisons of the Paiśācī *Bṛhatkathā*.[7] From original *lambha* (meaning 'aquisition, attainment'), it became *lambhaka* through pleonastic extension. Due to ignorance or phonological change these were turned into *lamba* and *lambaka*, were adopted in sanskrit and were reinterpreted or else they were replaced by the acceptable Sanskrit synonym *lābha*. Thus misunderstanding of a Prakrit term, Sanskritization and reinterpretation are the common features in the history of the terms *lambha* and *paryāya*.

The appropriateness of the designation Paryāyabandha is quit obvious. It is a composition in which the same topic is described in its various aspects (*paryāya*) ; or variations (*paryāya*) are worked out on the same theme. The aptness of the term *paryāya* is in glaring contrast with the forced and artificial interpretation of the manufactured term *Vrajyā*.

The identification of the Paryāyabandha with the Vrajyā readily solves a mystery: How was it that even though authorities like Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta thought it worthwhile to take note of the type

7. For a recent discussion, see Raghavan, *Bhoja's Śṛṅgāra Prakāśa*, (1963) pp. 844-6 .

Paryāyabandha, so far we had not been able to identify even a single actual work of that type ? It now becomes clear that in the Vrajyās or Vajjās of the Subhāṣita anthologies we have as many examples of the Paryāyabandha as we would wish to have. Hemacandra has stated this clearly : Paryās are seen in abundance in the Kośas. This is echoed by Viśvanātha in the definition we cited previously. The same characteristic of the Paryāyabandha which is specified by Abhinavagupta with the expression *ekavarṇanīyoddeśya* is expressed by others with different wordings, e. g. *eka-praghaṭṭakopanibandha* (Hemacandra, *Alaṅkāracūḍāmaṇi* on *Kāvyānuśāsana*, VIII 12),[8] *sajātīyānām-ekatra sanniveśaḥ* (Viśvanātha).

Now prior to Ānandavardhana we do not get any treatment of the Paryāyabandha as a literary genre.[9] Instead we find a very similar type called Saṁghāta. But this point requires to be discussed separately.

2. *The Paryāyabandha and the Saṁghāta.*

Under the Anibaddha class of literary compositions, the authorities on Sanskrit poetics generally mention Muktaka, Saṁdānitaka (= Yugalaka), Viśeṣaka, Kalāpaka, Kulaka, Kośa, Saṁghāta and/or Paryāyabandha, besides a few others.[10] Daṇḍin and Bhoja do not mention the Paryāyabandha. Similarly Ānandavardhana is silent about the Saṁghāta. Hemacandra and Viśvanātha have both, the Paryāyabandha and the Sṁghāta. Some difficulty seems to have been felt about formulating the

8. Besides Hemacandra has also reproduced Abhinavaguptás definition.

9. See *Raghavan*, op cit pp. 611, 631.

10. See for example Hemacandra's *Kāvyānuśāsana* VIII 10, commentary. For a general and comparative survey, see *Raghavan*, op. cit., ch. XXI.

principles of distinction for a few of these literary types and there was probably some confusion and uncertainty about classifying the middle-length compositions as can be seen from their conflicting treatments. Abhinavagupta defines the *Paryāyabandha* as follows :

> *avāntara-kriyā-samāptāv api vasanta-varṇanādy-eka-varṇanīyoddeśyena pravṛttaḥ paryāyabandhaḥ.*
>
> (*Locana* on *Dhvanyāloka*, III 7)

This means that the verse composition called Paryāyabandha consisted not of one but several self-contained syntactic-semantic units and it aimed at describing one single subject like the spring season. Compare with this what Bhoja has to say about the Saṁghāta:

> *eka-praghaṭṭopanibaddhānāṁ subhāṣitānāṁ samūhaḥ Saṁghātaḥ. Aneka-praghaṭṭakopanibaddhānāṁ tu kośaḥ.*
>
> (Raghavan, *Bhoja's Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*, p. 630)

This means that the Saṁghāta is a collection of independent verses on one single theme, while the Kośa is a collection of verses on various themes.

This would make the Paryāyabandha and the Saṁghāta as one and the same type. And the same conclusion would follow from Ratnaśrījñāna's definition of the Saṁghāta, which is as follows:

> *nānā-bhittayo bhinna-kriyāḥ svatantrāḥ ślokāḥ kośavat sthā [pitāḥ kośaḥ]. Ekāṁ bhittiṁ prāvṛḍādikān varṇayituṁ samudāyena pravṛttā bhinnakriyāḥ ślokāḥ Saṁghātaḥ.*
>
> (*Kāvyalakṣaṇa 1 13, commentary*)

This means that the Kośa is a treasury of self-contained verses syntactically independent and pertaining to

various themes, while the Saṁghāta is a group of verses syntactically independent but purporting to describe one single theme like the rainy season.

Accordingly one would suspect that what was called Saṁghāta earlier came to be called Paryāyabandha later. But in the definition of the Saṁghāta given by Bhoja at another place one additional detail occurs :

eka-praghaṭṭake yas tv eka-kṛto bhavati sūkti-samudāyaḥ
Saṁghātaḥ sa nigaditaḥ Vṛndāvana-Meghadūtādi.

(Raghavan *op cit., p. 808*)

This means that Saṁghāta is a group of self-contained verses pertaining to a single theme and *of single authorship,* like the *Vṛndāvana* and the *Meghadūta.*

Hemacandra, seems to have made a clever use of this for providing separate niches for the Saṁghāta and the Paryāyabandha types. According to him Paryā is a group of Muktakas pertaining to the same theme, and this definition he takes to be substantially the same as given by Abhinavagupta, which also he reproduces. Further he defines Kośa as consisting of a number of Paryās. And as for the Saṁghāta, he reproduces Bhoja's definition.[11] Thus the distinction between the Saṁghāta and the Paryāyabandha would rest solely on the fact of authorship : if the work is an anthology of stray verses of *different authors* on the same theme it would be

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11. *muktakānām eka-praghaṭṭakopanibandhaḥ Paryā. avāntaravākya-samāptāv api vasantādyekavarṇanīyoddeśena muktakānām' upanibandhaḥ paryā. Sā kośeṣu pracuram dṛśyate. yathā Saptaśatakādiḥ. Ekapraghaṭṭake ekakavikṛtaḥ sūktisamudāyo Vṛndāvana-Meghadūtādiḥ saṁghātaḥ. Alaṅkāracūḍāmaṇi* on *Kāvyānuśāsana,* VIII 12-13)

called Paryāyabandha; but the same type of work of *one author* would be called Saṁghāta. In actual practice we find the term *Vrajyā*, a fourth reincarnation of the term *Paryāya*, frequently used in the anthologies. But the term *Saṁghāta* seems to have gone out of vogue quite early, and so when Bhoja mentions the *Meghadūta* as an example of the Saṁghāta type, one justifiably feels skeptical about there being a sound earlier tradition in this regard.[12]

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12. Compare Raghavan's reaction, op. cit p. 629.

ON THE PUN AS POETRY

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The pun is a figurative device which occupies a unique place in Sanskrit literature. Next to grammatical virtuosity, it is the aspect of Sanskrit style which has received the most abuse from Western critics.[1] Yet some poets appreciated by traditional Indian criticism have, like Māgha and Shrīharṣa, depended in part for their poetic effect upon this highly expressive figure of speech.

In this short paper I want to investigate some formal relations between the pun and other figures which may illuminate the high regard in which the pun evidently was held by the writers and critics of the classical period.

In our own rhetorics, there is a confusion between pun and word-play, which are often termed indiscriminately "paronomasia". Warren Taylor[2] defines paronomasia as "playing on the sound and meaning of words : punning" (p. 116) and offers the example : "Be sure of his sword before you trust him of his word" (from Henry Peacham). The *Oxford Dictionary* agrees—paronomasia is "a playing on words which sound alike...a

1. e.g. Keith, *History of Sanskrit Literature* pp. 311-3. Das Gupta and De, *History of Sanskrit Literature* (vol. 1) pp. 221-3; 334-6; etc.
2. "Tudor Figures of Rhetoric", Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1937 Edwin Cerow, University of Washington Seattle.

pun"—but then defines the pun as the "use of a word in such a way as to suggest two or more meanings" as in "Great Praise be to God and Little Laud to the Devil" (referring to the Arch-Bishop).

No Indian rhetorician ever confuses, as in these examples and definitions, pun and word-play, *śleṣa* and *yamaka.* Failure to distinguish clearly between the two is, I think, one element in the typical Westerner's inherent dislike of the pun, and one reason for the low esteem in which its "poetic" use is generally held. Poets like Ogden Nash and the Madison Avenue group have become our standard sources for the pun.

In the Indian rhetorics, word-play is usually defined as a repetition of identical syllable sequences somewhere in the line or verse in such a way that the meaning of each sequence is different (Rudraṭa 3.1). (Example : For News you can depend on, depend on the Chicago Daily News; or sword-word). A pun, however, is the use of a single word or phrase in such a way that two meanings are simultaneously apprehended (*yugapat*) (Rudraṭa 4. 1., 10.1). (Example : little Laud to the Devil). The charm of the former is thought to reside in the iterative similarity of verbal appearances merely; of the latter to be a function of the expressive power of the words themselves.

The pun conveys two meanings at once; from the point of view of expressive technique the pun, as a figure of speech, is a prime example of density of meaning-always, as we know from the *dhvani* theorists, a highly prized quality in the work of art.

The oldest view of the figures of speech seems to be that they were elements of non-literal expression (*vakrokti*

B) by which poetic writing was distinguished (*viśiṣṭa*) from other genres, notably shastraic or literal writing. Bhāmaha explains that a touch of exaggeration (*atiśaya*) or deviation from the exact is to be found in all the figures. The poet's means are language of a peculiar sort involving usages and references which are technically speaking equivocal and which presuppose the ability of the audience to grasp relations which are not stated as such. The oldest such figure, and traditionally the most important, is *upamā*, simile. Two things, not literally comparable, are compared: a girl's face and the moon. Incomparable in the sense that no generic relationship exists between the two; no writer on scientific subjects would refer to one in explaining the other. But the poet, focussing upon some aspect of the girl's mood which he wants to convey, and not intending the face or the moon as such, makes the conjunction of the two, whereby a specific understanding is awakened of the charm or the softness of the girl's regard. This apprehension of an imposed quality constitutes the aim of the poet who employs simile.

It is inevitable that the pun, whereby the two ideas are conjoined in simultaneous expression, would be considered in the same context as simile; the pun can even be seen as the most characteristic figure of speech, being inherently or essentially non-literal (not in virtue of the context).

Daṇḍin and Bhāmaha define the pun as a variety of metaphor (*rūpaka*), itself a comparison raised to the status of an identification. Instead of being "like the moon," the girl's face "is" the moon (e. g., the orb of her face rises behind the hill of her breast). Pun carries

the identification one step further in those cases where the two metaphorized things are expressed not by the predication inherent in a compound noun, but by the *same* word; for example, the word "rājā" conveying both senses of king and moon. (Daṇḍin's example, 2.311:

> "*asāv udayam ārūḍhaḥ kāntimān raktamaṇḍalaḥ* /
> *rājā harati lokasya hṛdayaṁ mṛdubhiḥ karaiḥ*. //)

The simple simile underlying the pun "Laud" (the arch-bishop) and "praise" (to be given to the Devil) is evident.

The earlier view of the pun as comparison was retained in later writers, notably Rudraṭa, but certain cases were pointed out and distinguished in which the grammatical structure of the punned meanings forbade the same analysis; these were called "verbal" puns, as in "Focus : where the sons raise meat" (name of a ranch). Here a nominative plural (sons) is punned on a genitive singular (sun's) and a verb (raise) is punned on a noun (rays). Comparison requires an identity in morphemic structure and function. With these "embarrasing" puns and other verbal devices (word-play) out of the way, Rudraṭa goes on to give an elaborate analysis of figures whose expressive power can be traced only to the meanings of the words used. He divides these figures into four categories: descriptive (*vāstava*—rhetorical arrangements of the phrase), comparative (*aupamya*—based on simile), hyperbolic (*atiśaya*—in which a property is exaggerated), and lastly, puns. Just as the category *vāstava* meant neither comparative nor hyperbolic, we may infer, since Rudraṭa is generally systematic, that this last category, pun, refers to poetic devices which are *both* comparative and hyperbolic,

Here the pun is the crucial figure, involving the poetic issue in its extreme form. The pun not only forces a comparison of its two constituent ideas, but the simultaneity of their apprehension is such a potent expressive device that an exaggeration of the presumed similitude is conveyed *a fortiori*. Rudraṭa devoting his tenth chapter to this important type gives ten examples showing how the two meanings of the pun can compliment one another, and so serve a genuinely aesthetic end. Puns cannot be made at random.

Among the more obvious types are puns involving a risqué second meaning, and those, ironic, where the two meanings differ, as praise and blame. The delightful effect of these puns, involving simultaneity, is of course lost in translation ; it may even be a peculiar property of the Sanskrit language, which possesses so many more synonyms than our own. The pun as simile is nevertheless apparent : A girl sends her emissary to arrange a rendez-vous with the lover. Instead, the emissary is seduced by the lover. She returns showing the wounds of passionate kissing on her lips. This evokes the retort : You have gone for my sake and given your body to my lover (word also means "reptile"); for what you have done how will I ever repay you ("get even with you"). The bites on the messenger's lips make the pun on the snake even more appropriate.

Some English poets have understood the poetic aspect of punning. John Donne, also seducing someone, writes : "License my roving hands and let them go/ Before, behind, between, above, below,/ O my America! my New found land!/ My kingdom's safest, when with one man manned. . ." Rudraṭa's example (10.10) contains an exact parallel.

This I think illustrates at least the kind of pun the Indian poet took as his model. As an extremely forceful simile, it could be used in contexts where strong feeling or emotion was expressed. Viewing such puns as concealed similes and not as mere "word-play" may enable us to appreciate more fully some of the more recondite "jewels" of Sanskrit literature.

चमत्कार-तत्त्व का रहस्य

परशुराम चतुर्वेदी वकील, बलिया, (उ० प्र०)

चमत्कार के विषय में "दैवी" "अतिप्राकृतिक" अथवा "अलौकिक" जैसे शब्दों के प्रयोगों का कोई औचित्य स्वीकार कर ले सकें तो हमारे सामने कुछ कठिनाई भी आ जाती जान पड़ती है और हमें किसी ऐसी समस्या का सामना करना पड़ जाता है जिसका वैसी दशा में आप से आप उठ जाना स्वाभाविक है। हम स्वभावतः इस प्रकार सोचने लग जाते हैं कि क्या कभी किसी प्राकृतिक नियम का उल्लंघन भी संभव हो सकता है, अर्थात् क्या कभी हम ऐसा भी अनुमान कर सकते हैं कि कोई घटना किसी प्राकृतिक नियम के विरुद्ध भी घट जाती होगी ? ऐसे प्रश्न की ओर आज तक अनेक विद्वानों का ध्यान आकृष्ट हो चुका है तथा उनके द्वारा इस सम्बन्ध में प्रकट किये गये विचारों में मतभेद भी पाया जाता है जिसका विवेचन कर लेना कदाचित् हमारे लिये यहां पर कुछ असंगत भी नहीं कहा जा सकता। उनमें एकाध विचारक तो ऐसे भी मिलेंगे जिन्होने विश्व की सारी बातों में ही किसी न किसी चकत्कार-तत्त्व का अनुभव किया है जिस कारण उन्हें कदाचित् उक्त प्रश्न पर कोई गंभीर विचार करने की आवश्यकता ही नहीं प्रतीत होती। प्रसिद्ध अमेरिकन लेखक वाल्ट व्हिटमैन का कहना है, "क्यों, वह कौन सा व्यक्ति है जो चमत्कार को वैसा महत्त्व प्रदान करता है ? स्वयं मुझे तो ऐसी किसी बात का पता ही नहीं जो चमत्कार न हो।" तथा "मेरे लिए प्रकाश एवं अंधकार की प्रत्येक घड़ी चमत्कार है, स्थल का प्रत्येक इंच चमत्कार से भरा है।" इसी प्रकार, ऐसी धारणा के विषय में, किसी प्रकार का सन्देह प्रकट करने वालों के प्रति लारेन्स हाउसमैन की भी चुनौती है, "कोई भी ऐसी बात निकाल सको तो ढूंढ निकालो जिसमें चमत्कार न भरा हो और तभी तुम उस पर आश्चर्य भी प्रकट करो[1]।" परन्तु अन्य प्रकार के लेखकों में से कुछ ने स्पष्ट शब्दो में कह दिया है कि "चमत्कार एक ऐसी घटनामात्र है जो हमारी समझ में नहीं आती, इसका कारण चाहे जो भी कुछ हो। तथा यह भी सत्य है कि चमत्कारों के द्वारा हमारे ज्ञान में कोई वृद्धि भी नहीं हो पाती"। प्रसिद्ध दार्शनिक स्पिनोज़ा का यह कथन इस सम्बन्ध

1—"दि मिरेक्युलस ऐंड मिस्टीरियस" आदि पृ० १ पर उद्धृत।

में उल्लेखनीय है कि "प्रकृति के अन्तर्गत इस प्रकार की कोई भी घटना नहीं घट सकती जो उसके विश्वव्यापक नियमों के प्रतिकूल लगती ठहरायी जा सके।"[2] इसके विपरीत कुछ लोगो का ऐसा विश्वास है कि चमत्कार-तत्त्व प्रकृति के अन्तर्गत बराबर विद्यमान रहा करता है और वह केवल समय पाकर प्रकाश में आता है। तदनुसार किसी दैवी शक्ति में पूरी श्रद्धा रखने वाले का तो यहां तक भी दावा है कि वैसे चमत्कारों का प्रदर्शन उस दशा में आप से आप संभव हो जाया करता है जब किसी उपयुक्त माध्यम के सहारे उक्त प्रकार की स्थिति के प्रत्यक्ष में आ जाने का समय उपस्थित होता है।

इन दोनों प्रकार के मतों को एक समन्वयात्मक-सा रूप देते हुए डॉ० हर्नाक नामक जर्मन लेखक ने बतलाया है कि "जो कुछ भी बातें हमें चामत्कारिक समझ पड़ती हैं उनमें हमें किसी न किसी दृढ़ संकल्प एवं अटल विश्वास का शारीरिक चेतनता के ऊपर प्रभाव डालना तथा, इस प्रकार, कोई ऐसा दृश्य भी उपस्थित कर देना प्रकट होता है जो हमें आश्चर्य-जनक लगा करता है। कौन ऐसा होगा जिसने आजतक निश्चित रूप में सभी संभावनाओं तथा वास्तविकताओं का क्षेत्र निर्धारित किया होगा ? कोई नहीं। कौन ऐसा व्यक्ति है जो कह सके कि कोई एक जीवात्मा किसी अन्य पर कहां तक प्रभाव डालता है अथवा वह किसी शरीर को भी कहां तक प्रभावित करता है ? वास्तव में कोई भी ऐसा नहीं जो इस प्रश्न का भी सही उत्तर दे सके। इसके सिवाय ऐसा कौन है जो कह सके कि जो कुछ भी हमें यहां पर विचित्र जान पड़ता है वह केवल हमारी भूल अथवा धोखाधड़ी मात्र है। वास्तव में, चमत्कार तो कोई भी कभी घटित नहीं हुआ करता किन्तु इस प्रकार की बातें हमें यथेष्ट संख्या में अवश्य दीख पड़ती हैं जो न्यूनाधिक आश्चर्य से भरी रहा करती हैं तथा जिनके लिए हमारे पास कोई समाधान नहीं है।"[3] इसी प्रकार एक

2—"भारतीय संस्कृति और साधना" (प्रथम खण्ड) पृ० ३६६ पर उद्धृत।

3. We see that a firm will and a convinced faith act even on the bodily life and cause appearance which appeal to us as miracles. Who has hitherto here with certainty measured the realm of the possible and the real ? Nobody. Who can say how far the influences of one soul on another soul and of the soul on the body reach ? Nobody. Who can still affirm that all which in this realm appears as striking rests only on deception and error ? Certainly no miracles occur, but there is enough of the wonderful and the inexplicable.

—भारतीय संस्कृति और साधना (प्रथम खंड) के पृष्ठ ३६६ पर उद्धृत।

अंग्रेज लेखक वायकाउंट सेमुअल का भी मत है कि जो कुछ किसी प्रार्थना के बल पर विभिन्न रोगों के दूर हो जाने के विषय में कहा जाता है उसे स्वीकार कर लेने पर भी हमें किसी ऐसी विशिष्ट अतिप्राकृतिक शक्ति का कभी स्पष्ट भान नहीं हो पाता जिसके द्वारा उस घटना का समुचित रूप में घटित हो जाना भी मान लिया जा सके।[4] इस विश्व के अन्तर्गत काम करने वाली प्रकृति की रहस्यमयी कार्य-पद्धति का पता लगा पाना हमारे लिए केवल उतना ही संभव हो सकता है जितना वह किसी ऐसे व्यक्ति के लिए भी कहा जा सकता है जो किसी 'घड़ी' के भीतर सदा निवास करते हुए, यह बतला देने का यत्न करे कि उसकी सुइयों का चलना अमुक बातों पर निर्भर है अथवा यह कि वे किस नियम के अनुसार चला करती हैं।

परन्तु क्या तब हम इस बात को किसी तथ्य के रूप में स्वीकार कर लें कि जिन प्रसंगों की चर्चा हम इसके पहले, 'चमत्कार' का स्वरूप निर्धारित करते समय, छेड़ते आये हैं उनके किसी अंश का समाधान प्राकृतिक नियमों के अनुसार नहीं किया जा सकता ? यह प्रश्न अत्यन्त महत्त्वपूर्ण है और इस पर प्रस्तुत संदर्भ में विचार कर लेना बहुत आवश्यक भी जान पड़ता है। इसकी ओर अनेक विद्वानों का ध्यान भी आकृष्ट हुआ दीख पड़ता है जिन्होने इसे विभिन्न दृष्टियों से हल करने का यत्न किया है। इनमें से एक तो यह है कि हमें सर्वप्रथम इस बात को भली-भांति समझ लेना चाहिए कि जब हम यहां पर प्राकृतिक एवं अतिप्राकृतिक जैसे दो भिन्न-भिन्न शब्दों का व्यवहार करते हैं तो हम उनके वास्तविक अभिप्रायों में कैसे अन्तर का अनुमान किया करते हैं अथवा क्या ये दोनों वास्तव में, किन्हीं दो नितान्त भिन्न-भिन्न अर्थों के वाचक ठहराये जा सकते हैं ? बात का विवेचन करते समय लोगों में से प्रायः सभी वस्तुतः एक ही निर्णय पर पहुँचते जान पड़ते हैं। उनके अनुसार "प्राकृतिक" शब्द से तात्पर्य यहां पर केवल उस क्षेत्र तक ही सीमित समझा जा सकता है जहां तक अभी हमारी पहुँच हो पायी है और इसी प्रकार 'अति-प्राकृतिक' शब्द हमारे लिए इसके उस अवशिष्ट अंश की ओर भी संकेत करता जान पड़ता है जिसका परिचय हमें अभी तक प्राप्त नहीं हो पाया है तथा जिसके यहां तक जा पाने के लिए हम सतत यत्नशील बने रहते हैं। उदाहरण के लिए योरप एवं अमेरिका के कई शिक्षा-संस्थानों में आजकल किसी ऐसे नवीन प्रकार के प्रयोगों का अभ्यास किया जाने लगा है जिनके आधार पर इस बात का भी पता लगाया जा सके कि जो अनुभव हमें कभी-कभी कुछ विलक्षण ढंग से हो जाया करते हैं तथा जिन्हें हम प्रायः "दैवी" वा "अलौकिक" नियमों के ऊपर आधारित मान लिया

4—दे० 'बिलीफ़ ऐंड ऐक्शन' (पेलिकन बुक्स) पृ० ५७।

करते हैं वे सर्वथा "अतीन्द्रिय" तो नहीं हैं ? अथवा क्या यह किसी प्रकार संभव नहीं कि यदि हम अपनी ज्ञानेन्द्रियों की शक्ति को समुचित रूप में विकसित करते जाएँ तो किसी दिन उन अनेक रहस्यमयी अनुभूतियों को समझ सकें जिन्हें अब तक 'चामत्कारिक प्रसंग' मात्र कह देते आये हैं। इस प्रकार की विद्या का नाम (पैरा साइकालोजी) अर्थात् 'परा-मनोविज्ञान' दिया गया दीख पड़ता है तथा इसके विवेच्य को इसी कारण एक्स्ट्रा-सेन्सरी परसेप्शन अथवा, संक्षेप में, ई० एस० पी० द्वारा सूचित करने की एक परम्परा भी चल पड़ी है। अतएव, यदि उक्त प्रकार के यत्नों में यथेष्ट सफलता मिल सकी और हम क्रमशः यहाँ तक सिद्ध कर पाने की स्थिति में आ गये कि वैसी अनुभूतियों को "अतीन्द्रिय" समझने की कोई आवश्यकता नहीं तथा वे वस्तुतः इन्द्रियाधारित ही कही जा सकती है तो हमारे उपर्युक्त प्रश्न का समाधान आपसे आप हो जा सकता है।

भारतवर्ष में उक्त विषय की चर्चा संभवतः प्राचीन काल से ही होती आयी है तथा योग-साधना एवं उसके परिणाम स्वरूप उपलब्ध 'सिद्धियों' का परिचय देने वाले पंडितों ने तत्सम्बन्धी प्रश्नों के कुछ न कुछ उत्तर भी दिये हैं। योग साधना के जिन आठ अंगों का विवेचन, योग-शास्त्र में किया गया मिलता है उन (अर्थात् यम, नियम, आसन, प्राणायाम, प्रत्याहार, धारणा, ध्यान एवं समाधि) में से अंतिम तीन को वहाँ पर विशेष महत्व दिया गया है। उन्हें एक योगसूत्र के द्वारा एक साथ 'संयम' जैसे विशिष्ट पारिभाषिक नाम से अभिहित भी किया गया है[5] और उसके आगे वाले दो सूत्रों के[6] अन्तर्गत हमें बतलाया गया है कि उसमें यथेष्ट सफलता मिलते जाने पर 'प्रज्ञालोक' में विकास होने लग जाता है। अंत में क्रमशः एक ऐसी स्थिति भी आ जाती है जिसमें ध्येय वस्तु का यथार्थ साक्षात्कार हो जाना तक भी संभव है। इस सम्बन्ध में अपना विचार प्रकट करते हुए एक पाश्चात्य विद्वान् मिर्सिय एलिएड ने, अपने ग्रन्थ "योग, इम्मार्टलिटी ऐन्ड फ्रीडम" के एक स्थल पर कहा है "संयम की युक्ति विशेष द्वारा इस प्रकार के "ज्ञान" को वास्तव में, हम उस तत्व की उपलब्धि अथवा उसे आत्मसात् कर लेने की स्थिति ठहरा सकते हैं जो योगियों का परम लक्ष्य हुआ करता है। जिस किसी के ऊपर अपना ध्यान केन्द्रित किया जाय वह वैसी ध्यान-साधना के कारण आत्मसात् हो जाया करता है। यह बात हमें स्वाभाविक-सी जान पड़ती है कि जिन लोगों को कभी योग-सम्बन्धी रहस्यों का कोई भान भी नहीं था उन्होंने उक्त प्रकार से उपलब्ध शक्ति

5—त्रयमेकत्र संयमः ॥४॥-पातंजल योगसूत्र

6—तज्जयात्प्रज्ञालोकः ॥५॥ तथा, तस्यभूमिषु विनियोगः ॥६॥—वही

(सिद्धि) को केवल योग क्षेम की ही बात मान लेने की भूल दिखलायी और कदाचित् इसी कारण भारत में किसी योगी को सदा एक 'महासिद्ध' वा अपूर्व शक्ति-सम्पन्न जादूगर तक स्वीकार कर लिया जाता आया।[7]" इस प्रकार, इस लेखक के अनुसार उपर्युक्त सिद्धियाँ केवल योगजनित शक्तिविशेष का ही प्रतिनिधित्व नहीं करतीं। उन्हें हम किसी भी ऐसी स्थिति में प्राप्त कर ले सकते हैं जो उनके लिए सर्वथा उपयुक्त एवं अनुकूल मानसिक दशा बन जा सके। दूसरे शब्दों में हमारे लिए यह अनिवार्य नहीं कि उनके उपलब्ध करने के यत्न में, हम किसी धार्मिक वातावरण की ही शरण लें। इसके सिवाय यहाँ पर यह भी उल्लेखनीय है कि उक्त प्रकार प्राप्त की जाने वाली शक्ति हमें केवल किसी वैसी वस्तु जैसे योगियों के चरम ध्येय परम-तत्व के साक्षात्कार में ही सहायता नहीं देती। उसके द्वारा हम अनेक प्रकार का "अतीन्द्रिय" ज्ञान भी प्राप्त कर ले सकते हैं तथा वैसे अनेक दुष्कर कार्य तक कर ले सकते हैं जिनकी चर्चा आगे के सूत्रों में की गयी दीख पड़ती है। उदाहरण के लिए, चन्द्र में संयम करने से नक्षत्र-मंडल मात्र को दृष्टिगत कर सकते हैं[8]। ध्रुवतारा में संयम करने पर उसकी गति का ज्ञान भी उपलब्ध कर लेते हैं।[9] अपनी मूर्धा की ज्योति में संयम करके अदृश्य सिद्धों को देख सकते हैं।[10] इसी प्रकार अपने कानों एवं आकाश के सम्बन्ध पर संयम कर लेने पर दैवी श्रवण शक्ति भी प्राप्त कर ले सकते हैं।[11] अतएव, डॉ० राधाकृष्णन् के शब्दों में, इस निर्णय पर पहुँच जाते हैं कि, "प्रकृति की एक अपनी कार्य-पद्धति है जिस कारण 'अतिप्राकृतिक' भी, उसकी वास्तविक व्यापकता एवं गूढ़ता को ध्यान में रखते हुए, 'प्राकृतिक' ही कहला सकता है। इस प्रकार की बातों को प्रकृति के नियमों से विपरीत दिशा की ओर काम करने वाला नहीं मान सकते।"[12]

उपर्युक्त पैरा साइकालोजी (परा-मनोविज्ञान) को कुछ लोग, केवल 'न्यू साइकालोजी' अर्थात् 'नया मनोविज्ञान' मात्र कह देते भी दीख पड़ते हैं जिनमें से एक

7—मिर्सिया एलिएड : 'योग, इम्मार्टलिटी एँड फ्रीडम' (लन्दन १९५८ ई० पृ० ८८)।

8—चन्द्रे ताराव्यूहज्ञानम् ॥२७॥

9—ध्रुवे तद्गतिज्ञानम् ॥२८॥

10—मूर्धज्योतिषि सिद्धदर्शनम् ॥३२॥

11—श्रोत्राकाशयोः सम्बन्धसंयमाद्दिव्यं श्रोत्रम् ॥१॥

12—'ऐन आइडियलिस्ट व्यू आफ लाइफ़' पृ० ५९।

प्रसिद्ध विद्वान् विलियम वाकर ऐटकिन्सन ने अपने उक्त ग्रन्थ में एक स्थल पर लिखा है, "नवीन मनोविज्ञान" को इस बात के सिद्ध कर देने में सफलता मिल चुकी है कि जहाँ तक इसके अनुसार अनुसन्धान-कार्य किया गया है, (उस दृष्टि से) प्रत्येक बात 'प्राकृतिक' है तथा जिस बात को 'अति प्राकृतिक' समझा जाता रहा है वह केवल एक ऐसी प्राकृतिक घटना है जिसका मर्म अभी तक समझ में नहीं आ सका है। अब नयी दृष्टि से समझ में आती जाने वाली मानसिक वृत्तियां बराबर प्रत्यक्ष होती जा रही हैं और उनके आधार पर प्राकृतिक नियमों के भेद भी खुलते जा रहे हैं।[13] ऐटकिन्सन ने, अपनी एक अन्य पुस्तक 'थाट्स आर थिंग्स' में किसी प्रो० ओकोरोविज की कई पंक्तियाँ उद्धृत करते हुए यह सिद्ध करने का भी यत्न किया है कि हमारे चिन्तन की प्रक्रिया स्वयं एक प्रकार की शक्ति है। प्रो० ओकोरोविज का कथन है कि, "हमारी चिन्तन-प्रक्रिया केवल उसी रूप में जहाँ की तहाँ रह जाती कही जा सकती हैं जैसे किसी बैटरी का रासायनिक प्रभाव अपने ही यहाँ तक सीमित रह जाता कहा जा सकता है किन्तु उसका प्रतिनिधित्व वहाँ वस्तुतः कोई विद्युत-धारा करने लग जाती है। इसी प्रकार मानसिक क्षेत्र में काम करने वाली चिन्तन-प्रक्रिया के विषय में भी कहा जा सकता है कि यहाँ भी इसका कोई न कोई प्रतिनिधित्व अवश्य करता है जिसका हम नाम-करण नहीं कर पाते। परन्तु, उसको जो भी नाम दिया जा सके, वह चिन्तन-प्रक्रिया का अपना बन कर ही सक्रिय रहता है तथा वह गतिशील भी है।"[14] वास्तव में हमारी चिन्तन-प्रक्रिया एक ऐसी शक्ति है जो प्रत्यक्षतः असंभव से असंभव प्रतीत होने वाले परिणामों तक को भी अस्तित्व में ला दे सकती है और इसके लिए कोई दृश्यमान भौतिक साधन अपेक्षित नहीं है।

एक अन्य लेखक ने इस विषय पर कुछ भिन्न प्रकार से विचार किया है, किन्तु वह भी प्रायः ठीक उसी परिणाम पर आता है। उसका कहना है कि, "यदि समुचित रूप में समझा जा सके तो चमत्कार, उस जगत् एवं जीवन-सम्बन्धी प्राकृतिक नियम के अतिरिक्त कुछ भी नहीं जिसे हम अपनी श्रद्धा एवं विश्वास की दृष्टि से देखा करते हैं और यही वस्तुतः उसके रहस्य में प्रवेश भी कर सकता है। जीवन एवं जगत् का वही नियम यदि बाहर की ओर से देखा जाता है और इसके लिए

13—'न्यू साइकालोजी' (कम्पैरेटिव ऐण्ड क्रिटिकल स्टडी आफ मंत्र-शास्त्र एम० पी० झावेरी के पृ० ६–७ पर उद्धृत)।

14—प्रो० ओकोरोविज जिसे 'थाट्स आर थिंग्स' के पृ० २४ पर उद्धृत किया गया है।

केवल बुद्धि वा तर्क पद्धति की सहायता ली जाती है तो विज्ञान एवं धर्म का क्षेत्र बन जाया करता है तथा उसे हम भली भाँति समझ पाने में असमर्थ हो जाया करते करते हैं।"[15] इस प्रकार की श्रद्धा एवं विश्वास पर आधारित हमारी दृष्टि के निर्माण का भी अपना एक नियम विशेष है जिसकी कुछ व्याख्या करते समय प्रसिद्ध विचारक एडवर्ड कार्पेंटर ने अपनी पुस्तक 'दि आर्ट आफ क्रियेशन' में हमें बतलाया है। उन्होंने कहा है कि जब कभी कोई दो व्यक्ति प्रेम-व्यापार की घटना का श्रीगणेश होते समय एक दूसरे के आमने सामने आ जाते हैं, "कोई एक विलक्षण स्मृति-सी जागृत हो उठती है और एक धुंधला-सा संस्मरण हो जाया करता है। ऐसी दशा में बाहर वाली मरणशील भौतिक आकृति, भीतरी अमर तत्व में जाकर लीन हो जाती है जिसके परिणाम स्वरूप कोई एक ऐसा अलौकिक रूप हमें प्रत्यक्ष होने लग जाता है जो प्रकाशमान रहता है तथा जिसका तेजस्वीपन व्यापक मानव जीवन तक को झंकृत कर दिया करता है और एक ही साथ सहस्रों प्रेमगाथाओं की स्मृति जागृत-सी हो उठती है। ऐसे जागरण की दशा में मनुष्य अत्यन्त विह्वल तथा मतवाला जैसा बन जाया करता है और इस प्रकार का भाव उसके भीतर प्रज्वलित हो उठता है। फलतः, उसके मानस-मन्दिर के पवित्र स्थल पर, कोई एक देवी सी आ खड़ी हो जाती है जिसके प्रकाश द्वारा वह अभिभूत हो जाता है जिसका एक प्रत्यक्ष परिणाम इस रूप में दीखता है कि सारा संसार ही उसे किसी परिवर्तित रूप में लक्षित होने लगता है।"[16] उनके अनुसार "यह एक शाश्वत नियम है जिसे, हम जब चाहें, अपने मनस्तल एवं शरीर पर काम करते पा सकते हैं और इसके ही द्वारा केवल संवेदन वा इच्छा मात्र से सदा रूप की सृष्टि हो रही दीख पड़ती है जो क्रमशः स्पष्टतर होता चला जाता है और अन्त में सूक्ष्म एवं अदृश्य बने रहने की जगह स्थूल वा स्पर्श योग्य तक हो जाता है।"[17] मेरा कहना है कि इस नियम को हम अपने भीतर उस प्रक्रिया के रूप में भी देख सकते हैं जिसके अनुसार हमारा मनोवेग हमारी चिन्तन-पद्धति का रूप ग्रहण कर लेता है और फिर, अन्त में, विशुद्ध क्रिया से बाह्य जगत् के रूप तक में भी आ जाता है। वास्तव में यही उस मानवीय कला का भी

15—डा० वी० ए० परब की पुस्तक 'दि मिरैक्यूलस' इत्यादि के पृ० ४६७ पर उद्धृत डा० अलफ्रेड ल्वायजी का मत

16—एडवर्ड कार्पेंटर : दि आर्ट आफ क्रियेशन (लन्दन, १९२१ ई०) पृ० १४९

17—वही पृ० ३१–२

आधार है जिसे हम विभिन्न चित्रों, मूर्तियों आदि के निर्माण के मूल में पाया करते हैं। तदनुसार, जहाँ तक प्रार्थना के आधार पर किसी रोग विशेष के दूर हो जाने के विषय में कहा जा सकता है, ऐसा ही है जैसे कोई गहरा दर्द हो जाए और फिर कुछ थोड़े से ही समय के भीतर उसका अचानक मंद पड़ जाना भी अनुभव में आने लगे। यहाँ पर चमत्कार की बात केवल इसी रूप में दीख पड़ती है कि उसमें सुधार आ जाने के लक्षण अत्यन्त शीघ्र हमारे सामने आ जाते हैं। इस प्रकार घटने वाले परिवर्तन का कोई दूसरा कारण हमारी समझ में नहीं आता। इसके लिए यह अनिवार्य नहीं कि स्वयं रोगी ही अपनी ओर से प्रार्थना करे क्योंकि वह कभी-कभी अधार्मिक वृत्ति का भी हो सकता है। केवल इतना ही पर्याप्त होगा कि कोई न कोई उसके सान्निध्य में रहकर प्रार्थना में प्रवृत्त हो और यह इसीलिए विशेष रूप में उल्लेखनीय है। "इसके द्वारा पता चलता है कि, मनोवैज्ञानिक एवं कार्बनिक अथवा इन्द्रियाधारित कार्य-पद्धतियों के बीच कोई इस प्रकार के गूढ़ सम्बन्ध हैं जिनका ज्ञान हमें आज तक नहीं हो पाया है। ये बातें आध्यात्मिक सक्रियता के उस वस्तुपरक महत्व की ओर इंगित करती हैं जिसकी उपेक्षा स्वास्थ्यशास्त्र, चिकित्साशास्त्र, शिक्षाशास्त्र एवं समाजशास्त्र के पण्डितों द्वारा लगभग सदा से की जाती चली आई है, किन्तु, जिनके आधार पर मनुष्य किसी नये संसार को प्रत्यक्ष कर लेता जान पड़ता है।"[18] कहते हैं कि नैतिक आचरण अथवा धार्मिक भावनाएँ किसी प्रशिक्षण विशेष द्वारा उपलब्ध की जाने वाली बातें नहीं हैं, हम इन्हें गणित, व्याकरण, इतिहास जैसी बुद्धि एवं स्मृति के ऊपर आधारित विषयों की भाँति सीखा नहीं करते। इनको हम सदा केवल अपने संवेदन के द्वारा केवल वातावरण विशेष में रहते हुए ही प्राप्त करके इनके अनुसार अभ्यस्त हो जाया करते हैं। आश्चर्य तो यह है कि ये बातें हमें इतना अधिक प्रभावित कर देती है कि ये हमारे भीतर जैसे प्रवेश करके हमारे जीवन का अंग बन जाती हैं ये हमारे लिए अपने व्यक्तित्व का प्रमुख अंश बन कर हमें संचालित करने लग जाती है और अपने स्वभाव का रूप तक ग्रहण कर लेती हैं जिस कारण हमारा उक्त प्रकार की भावनाओं का सर्वथा त्याग कर पाना कभी संभव नहीं जान पड़ता। इन भावनाओं के ही अनुसार अथवा यों कहें कि इस प्रकार बन गये अपने स्वभाव के ही अनुकूल, हम अपने किसी आदर्श की कल्पना किया करते हैं तथा धार्मिक क्षेत्र के अंतर्गत, अपने किसी इष्ट देव-विशेष की आराधना भी किया करते

18—डॉ० अलेक्सिस कैटेल : "मैन दि अननोन" (लन्दन, १९५६ ई०) पृ० १४५।

हैं।[19] हम उसे प्रायः कोई न कोई विलक्षण मूर्त्त रूप दे दिया करते हैं तथा उसे अपने अत्यन्त निकटवर्ती आत्मीय स्वामी, संरक्षक, सहयोगी, अथवा स्वयं अपने आप जैसी किसी अनिर्वचनीय सत्ता की भाँति, निरंतर अपने पास वर्तमान तक मानते रहते हैं। उसके प्रति हमारी आस्था कभी-कभी यहाँ तक भी दृढ़ हो जा सकती है कि हमें इससे कोई भी बाह्य शक्ति विचलित नहीं कर पाती, प्रत्युत् यहाँ तक देखा जाता है कि इसके कारण हमारे भीतर कोई ऐसी दुर्लभ शक्ति भी आ जाती है जिसका प्रभाव दूसरों के ऊपर आपसे आप पड़ने लग जाता है तथा उन्हें वह प्रायः अपने से विमुख रहने की जगह, अपने प्रति उन्मुख अथवा अपने अधीन तक भी बना डालता है और वे न केवल हमारे साथ सहयोग करने अपितु हमारे शासन में रहने तक के लिए उद्यत बन जाते हैं। इस प्रकार के व्यक्तित्व के उदाहरण हमें अपने अनेक प्राचीन पौराणिक, ऐतिहासिक वा आधुनिक महापुरुषों तक में भी देख सकते हैं और उनमें श्री कृष्ण, गौतम बुद्ध, परमहंस रामकृष्ण, गांधी जी, स्वामी रामतीर्थ आदि के कुछ विशिष्ट नाम भी लिये जा सकते हैं।

यदि हम संत नामदेव एवं संत कबीर की उपलब्ध रचनाओं वाले उपर्युक्त चामत्कारिक प्रसंगों के ऊपर एक बार और ध्यान देकर देखें तो हमें पता चल सकता है कि वहाँ पर प्रस्तुत की गयी घटनाओं का चमत्कार-तत्व किस रूप में लक्षित होता है। यदि उन पर आधुनिक मनोवैज्ञानिकों की दृष्टि से विचार किया जाय तो उसका क्या परिणाम निकलता है। तदनुसार संत नामदेव-सम्बन्धी मन्दिर के दूसरी ओर घूम जाने तथा संत कबीर-सम्बन्धी जल के उन्हें डूबने न देने की रहस्यमयता हमें इस बात में निहित जान पड़ती है कि कोई पत्थर (मन्दिर) वा जल जैसा जड़ पदार्थ भी कभी-कभी किसी चैतन्य (यहाँ पर दोनों संतों) के प्रभाव में आकर अपना स्वभाव त्याग कर के कोई 'अतिप्राकृतिक' कार्य कर दिया करता है। एक ओर जहाँ अचल पत्थर सक्रिय बन कर अपनी स्थिति में स्वयं परिवर्तन ला देता है, वहाँ दूसरी ओर जल जैसा द्रव पदार्थ भी ठोस बन जाकर किसी को डूबने नहीं देता और दोनों ही किसी न किसी चैतन्य व्यक्ति से प्रेरणा ग्रहण करते हैं। इसी प्रकार संत कबीर सम्बन्धी हाथी वाले प्रसंग में भी हम लगभग इसी ढंग से कार्य होता हुआ पाते हैं। यहाँ पर

19—जैसा श्रीमद्भगवद्गीता (अध्याय १७ श्लोक ३) में भी कहा गया है—

सत्त्वानुरूपा सर्वस्य श्रद्धा भवति भारत।

श्रद्धामयोऽयं पुरुषः यो यच्छ्रद्धः स एव सः॥

अर्थात् जिसकी जैसी श्रद्धा रहती है वह वैसा ही हुआ करता है।

अंतर केवल इतना ही है कि उक्त जड़ पदार्थ का स्थान कोई एक पशु ग्रहण कर लेता है। वह सजीव अवश्य है जिस कारण वह चाहे तो किसी कार्य को कर सकता है अथवा उसे करने से विरत भी हो सकता है। परन्तु यह भी सभी को विदित है कि वह कभी उचित वा अनुचित का निर्णय नहीं कर पाता तथा अपने महावत के आदेश का प्रायः यन्त्रवत पालन करता हुआ अर्थ का अनर्थ कर देता ही पाया जाता है। परन्तु यहाँ पर अपने उक्त स्वभाव को सर्वथा छोड़-सा देता है और किसी मनुष्य को कुचल डालने के लिए बार-बार प्रेरित करने पर भी वह अपने महावत की इच्छा का पालन नहीं करता, प्रत्युत् वह कदाचित न केवल अपने सामने उपस्थित किये व्यक्ति के प्रति अपनी सहानुभूति प्रकट करता है, अपितु उसके द्वारा प्रभावित होकर, उसे श्रद्धापूर्वक नमस्कार करता-सा भी जान पड़ता है वहाँ, इस तीसरे में, एक निरे पशु द्वारा विवेक से काम लिया जाना तक भी प्रमाणित हो जाता है। अन्त में, उपर्युक्त छान के छवा जाने की संत नामदेव सम्बन्धी घटना के विषय में कहा जा सकता है कि वह इन तीनों में कुछ विलक्षण है। वहाँ पर हम किसी जड़ पदार्थ अथवा पशु विशेष का उक्त प्रकार प्रभावित होकर अपने स्वभाव के प्रतिकूल कार्य कर बैठना नहीं देखते। वहाँ पर तो वास्तव में हमें यह बात प्रत्यक्ष ही नहीं हो पाती कि उस संत की छान किस व्यक्ति ने छायी होगी। वहाँ पर हमें केवल कुछ संकेत मात्र ही मिलते हैं जिनके आधार पर हम ऐसा अनुमान कर लेते हैं कि उक्त कार्य स्वयं उनके इष्टदेव ने कर दिया होगा। अतएव, इस प्रसंग में हमें चमत्कार का तत्व किंचित् भिन्न रूप में दिखलायी पड़ता है। यहाँ पर हमें उसका ज्ञान केवल इस प्रकार हो पाता है कि प्रत्यक्षतः निरीह एवं असहाय व्यक्ति की सहायता का किसी 'अतिप्राकृतिक' अथवा दैवी सत्ता द्वारा कर दिया जाना भी कभी-कभी संभव बन जा सकता है जो बात हमारे दैनिक जीवन में बहुत कम दीख पड़ती है और इसी कारण हमें उक्त घटना में निहित किसी चमत्कार-तत्व का भी बोध होता है। यहाँ पर एक विशेषता केवल यही दीख पड़ती है कि, जिन दो व्यक्तियों के सम्बन्ध में उपर्युक्त घटनाओं का घटित हो जाना कहा जाता है वे दोनो ही बहुत बड़े आस्तिक एवं दृढ़ भक्त जान पड़ते हैं और वे दोनों न केवल अपने 'गोविन्द' के ऊपर पूर्ण रूप से निर्भर प्रतीत होते हैं तथा उसकी ओर निरन्तर दत्तचित्त भी हैं, प्रत्युत् आदर्श भक्त प्रह्लाद के दृष्टान्त से अनुप्राणित होने के कारण अपने विषय में भी किसी न किसी निश्चित कल्याण के लिए भली भाँति आश्वस्त हैं।

भौतिकवादी वैज्ञानिकों में से अनेक इस प्रकार की संभावना को स्वीकार करते नहीं पाये जाते तथा कुछ ऐसे विचारक भी मिल सकते हैं जो किसी ईश्वर जैसी

सत्ता में पूर्ण विश्वास करते हुए भी चमत्कारों को असंभव वा निरर्थक तक मानते हैं। इसके सिवाय हमें उन वैज्ञानिकों एवं दार्शनिकों की भी संख्या कम नहीं जान पड़ती जो 'अतिप्राकृतिक' की व्याख्या केवल अद्यावधि अज्ञात रहस्य के रूप में करते हैं तथा इन्हें (चमत्कारों को) अनिर्वचनीय-सा ठहरा कर प्रायः टाल दिया करते हैं। परन्तु बहुत से अन्य ऐसे विचारक भी मिलते हैं जिन्होंने किसी ईश्वर में विश्वास न करते हुए भी इन्हें न्यूनाधिक महत्व प्रदान किया है और जिनकी ऐसी धारणा भी रहती आई है कि इनकी सम्यक् समीक्षा के बल पर हम किसी दिन प्रकृति के गूढ़ रहस्यों तक को भी जान लेंगे। विश्वात्मक सत्ता का विवेचन करते समय, चाहे किसी जगन्नियन्ता ईश्वर की कल्पना भले न की जाय, इतना मान लेने में कदाचित् किसी को भी आपत्ति न होगी कि जिन किन्हीं विशिष्ट नियमों को हम सदा 'प्राकृतिक' समझते आये हैं वे स्वभावतः सहज, शाश्वत एवं सार्वभौम ही हो सकते हैं तथा उसकी ऐसी विशेषताओं में अपना विश्वास रखते आने के ही कारण हम अभी तक उनकी कार्य-पद्धति के साथ अधिक से अधिक परिचित होते जाने के विषय में सतत यत्न भी करते आये हैं। तदनुसार जो कुछ हमें आज तक अपनी समझ में आता गया जान पड़ा है उस पर हमने दर्शन एवं विज्ञान के क्षेत्रों में विचार किया है तथा जो हमें न्यूनाधिक रहस्यमय वा अज्ञेय-सा प्रतीत हुआ है, उसके पीछे किसी विलक्षण नियति अथवा आकस्मिक नियमों का काम करना अनुमान करके हमने उसे तब तक आगे के लिए छोड़-सा दिया है। उसका सदा भविष्य में भी अज्ञात बना रह जाना हमने कदाचित् स्वीकार नहीं किया है। आधुनिक वैज्ञानिको के सामने कभी-कभी ऐसे अनेक प्रश्न उठते आ रहे हैं जिन्हें हल करना वे अपना कर्तव्य समझा करते हैं और उनके द्वारा उस ओर किये गये प्रयोगों के फलस्वरूप नवीन क्षेत्रों की सृष्टि होती जा रही है। तदनुसार विज्ञान के विभिन्न विभागों की नवीन शाखाएँ तथा उपशाखाएँ तक भी बढ़ती चली जा रही हैं। चमत्कारों के 'कारण', 'स्वरूप' और 'परिणाम' सम्बन्धी समस्याओं की जटिलता ने इसी प्रकार मनोविज्ञान के अन्तर्गत पैरा-साइ-कालोजी वा न्यू साइकालोजी को जन्म देकर हमें किसी एक नयी दिशा की ओर उन्मुख कर दिया है। अतएव, उनका महत्व इस दृष्टि से भी कम नहीं है। परन्तु, यदि उनकी सामाजिक उपयोगिता पर विचार किया जाए तो वहाँ पर भी हमें वे नितांत निरर्थक नहीं जान पड़ते। उन्होंने जहाँ एक ओर हमें इस बात के कारण विनम्र बना दिया है कि हम अभी तक अपने प्रत्यक्ष में आने वाली भी बहुत सी गुत्थियों को सुलझा पाने में असमर्थ हैं, वहाँ दूसरी ओर उन्होंने हमारे लिए एक ऐसे विशाल क्षेत्र का द्वार भी खोल दिया है जहाँ पर हम किसी 'असंभव'सी जान पड़ने

वाली 'संभावना' के रहस्य का भी उद्‌घाटन कर सकें । असंभव को संभव कर दिखाना यह कोरी कल्पना की बात नहीं है । अपने भीतर अदम्य आत्मविश्वास, अपने वास्तविक आदर्श के प्रति निर्भ्रान्त निष्ठा एवं सत्साहस के बल पर हम सभी कुछ कर सकते हैं—जैसी बातों ने मानवीय शक्ति की असीमता की ओर भी हमारा ध्यान आकृष्ट कर दिया है ।

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पैगंबरीय धर्मों में पाप और प्रायश्चित्त

नर्मदेश्वर चतुर्वेदी, ऐतिहासिक हिन्दी व्याकरण विभाग,

हिन्दू विश्वविद्यालय, वाराणसी—५

धार्मिक क्षेत्र में पैगंबरीय धर्मों का बहुत ऊंचा स्थान एवं महत्व है। संसार की एक बड़ी संख्या इनकी अनुयायी है। जीव-जगत्, आत्मा-परमात्मा और पाप-प्रायश्चित्त जैसे विषयों के संबंध में इनकी धारणा और दृष्टिकोण इतर धर्मों से भिन्न और पृथक् है। संसार की प्रायः सभी जातियों में पाप और प्रायश्चित्त की धारणा किसी न किसी रूप में पायी जाती है। सभ्य, असभ्य अथवा अर्धसभ्य सभी वर्गों में प्रकारान्तर से इनकी मान्यता है। आस्तिक और नास्तिक दोनों ही अपनी-अपनी रीति से इन्हें स्वीकार करते हैं। एक यदि इन्हें धार्मिक क्षेत्र का विषय मानता है तो दूसरा इन्हें सामाजिक परिवेश में देखता है। फिर तीसरा नैतिक दृष्टि से इनका आकलन करता है। पाप और प्रायश्चित्त को चाहे व्यक्तिगत कृत्य माना जाय अथवा सामाजिक स्तर पर इन्हें सामाजिक विकृतियों और उनके निवारण का उपाय ठहराया जाय, वास्तव में ये सामाजिक चेतना के ही परिणाम हैं। पैगंबरीय धर्मों में मुख्यतः ईसाई धर्म इस्लाम धर्म, यहूदी धर्म और जरथुश्त्र धर्म के नाम लिये जाते हैं।

ईसाई धर्म के अनुसार पाप मनुष्य को आदम और ईव से रिक्थ रूप में मिला है। ईश्वरीय आदेश का उल्लंघन कर दोनों ने वर्जित फल खा लिया था। इस कारण इनके उत्तराधिकारी मानव को विरासत में पाप का कुफल मिला है। फलतः पाप करने की प्रवृत्ति मनुष्य मात्र में पायी जाती है और सभी को प्रायश्चित्त करने की आवश्यकता पड़ती है। पाप-कर्म करने से मनुष्य ईश्वरीय संतति कहलाने का अधिकारी नहीं रह जाता है। मनुष्य न केवल अपने पूर्वजों द्वारा किये पापों का भागीदार बनता है, अपितु स्वयं भी पापाचरण में प्रवृत्त हो जाता है। यह प्रवृत्ति दैवी प्रयोजनों की विरोधी और पृथ्वी पर ईश्वरीय साम्राज्य का विस्तार करने में बाधक है।

मनुष्य में पुण्य की अपेक्षा पाप में प्रवृत्त होने की सहज रूझान है। पाप ईश्वर और मानव के प्रति निष्ठावान् तथा कर्तव्य-परायण बनने की अयोग्यता का प्रमाण

है। पाप न केवल कुत्सित कर्मों तक ही सीमित है, अपितु संपूर्ण मानवीय जीवन तथा विचार-सरणि तक विस्तृत है। पाप-मुक्त होने के लिए ईश्वरीय क्षमा की आवश्यकता एवं अनिवार्यता है। ईश्वर मनुष्य को पाप के गर्त में गिरने नहीं देना चाहता, इसलिए वह उसे दैवी गुणों से संपन्न होने का अवसर देता है क्योंकि पापकर्मी होने के बावजूद वह ईश्वरीय संतान भी है।

ईसाई धर्म में पाप को व्यक्तित्व प्रदान कर उसे 'शैतान' कहा गया है, यद्यपि विज्ञान-युग में शैतान के अस्तित्व के प्रति संदेह प्रकट किया जा रहा है। अध्यात्मवादी क्षेत्र तक में इसका विरोध किया जाने लगा है। आधुनिक युग में परस्पर विरोधी प्रक्रियाओं की प्रकृति न समझ पाने के कारण बहुधा नैराश्य की भावना प्रबल हो उठती है। लोग यह भूल जाते हैं कि मनुष्य अपने आप में क्षम और समर्थ है। इस प्रकार अपने को दैवी गुणों से संपन्न कर वह ईश्वरीय संतान सिद्ध करने का अधिकारी है। मनुष्य की सर्वोपरि विजय और उपलब्धि अपनी पाप-प्रवृत्ति से मुक्ति पाने में है और यह प्रवृत्ति सामाजिक चेतना के अभाव का कुफल है। ऐसा होने पर पाप-कर्म भी संभव न हो सकेगा।

ईसा पापियों के प्रतिनिधि रूप में अथवा स्थानापन्न होकर ईश्वरीय दंड को भोगने के लिए उपस्थित रहता है। ईसा के रूप में यहाँ भगवान् अवतरित हुआ जिससे वह पापियों द्वारा पाप का प्रायश्चित्त करा के प्रभु की ओर उसे उन्मुख कर सके। ईसाई धर्म मनुष्य का दैवीकरण करता है। पाप-मुक्त होकर मनुष्य प्रभु का प्रिय बन जाता है। वह ईश्वरीय गुणों और प्रेम का पात्र बनता है। क्रास मानव समुदाय के प्रति ईसा के प्रेम का प्रतीक है। इस प्रकार वह पाप विहीन मानवता की सृष्टि का साधन है। उसके अनुग्रह से प्रभु के प्रति भय के स्थान पर प्रेम का प्रादुर्भाव होता है। हमारे पापों के लिए ईसा क्लेश भोगते हैं जिससे हमारा सान्निध्य प्रभु से संभव हो जाए। ईसा के हस्तक्षेप बिना मनुष्य पापमुक्त नहीं हो सकता।

इस्लाम पाप के परंपरागत अस्तित्व को स्वीकार नहीं करता। मनुष्य व्यक्तिगत रूप से अपने ही पापों का फल भोगता है। विभिन्न प्रकार की अनेक भूलें अविश्वास के कारण होती है। पाप के अन्तर्गत ईश्वर के प्रति अविश्वास और बुरे कर्मों की गणना होती है। कुरान के अनुसार पाप घमंड और ईश्वरीय विरोध को लेकर है। ईबलिस अर्थात् शैतान ईश्वरादेश के रहते आदम के अधीन न होकर पाप का भागी बना। घमंड में आकर उसने ईश्वर के प्रति अविश्वास किया। अविश्वास के रूप में ईश्वरीय विरोध करना, नास्तिक होना, बहुदेववादी होना और अधार्मिक होना

है । इसलिए कुरान मनुष्य को ईश्वर के प्रति विश्वास करने और पापों के लिए पश्चात्ताप और प्रायश्चित्त करने की बात करता है ।

मनुष्य की ईश्वरीय अवज्ञा और हठधर्मिता उसे पाप-कर्मों की ओर प्रवृत्त करती है । मुहम्मद साहब ईश्वरीय शुद्धता और पवित्रता के प्रति कहीं भी दोष अथवा संदेह नहीं प्रकट करते । वे दूसरों से यह मांग नहीं करते कि वह अनुभूति के विपरीत ज्ञान का दावा करे ।

इस्लाम के अनुसार पाप दो प्रकार के होते हैं : एक सगीर (छोटा) और दूसरा कबीर (बड़ा) । आदम और ईव द्वारा किये गए मूल पाप मानव के लिए फलप्रद हुए क्योंकि पाप न कर, यदि वे स्वर्ग में ही रह गए होते तो मानव-सृष्टि ही संभव न हुई होती । बड़े पापों को न कर जो छोटे पापों को करते हैं उन्हें ईश्वर अपने अनुग्रह से क्षमा कर देता है । उससे छोटी भूलों का निवारण प्रार्थना और नैतिक कर्मों द्वारा किया जा सकता है । इस्लाम धर्म में प्रार्थना का बहुत बड़ा स्थान एवं महत्व है ।

यदि मुल्ला-मौलवी छोटे पाप करके दूसरों को पथभ्रान्त अथवा पथभ्रष्ट बनाते हैं तो यह उनका बड़ा पाप बन जाता है । यदि छोटे अपराध अनजाने हो जाएँ तो उन्हें बड़ा पाप नहीं गिना जाता, किन्तु वह यदि जानबूझ कर किया जाए तो बड़ा पाप बन जाता है । इस्लाम के अनुसार बड़ा पाप ईश्वर के स्थान पर किसी अन्य को स्थानापन्न करना है । इसके अतिरिक्त अन्य अपराध क्षम्य हो सकते हैं । अपराधी मुसलमान सदा के लिए नरक में नहीं छोड़ दिया जाता बशर्ते कि वह पाप की पुनरावृत्ति न करे और ईश्वरादेश को वैधानिक ठहराये । इस्लाम में प्रायश्चित्त का कोई विशिष्ट विधि-विधान नहीं हुआ करता, वहाँ केवल पाप-कर्म करने के उपरांत पश्चात्ताप करना और ईश्वर से क्षमा-याचना करना पर्याप्त समझा जाता है । कुछ लोग मुसलमान होना मात्र पश्चात्ताप करने जैसा प्रभावकारी मानते हैं । अन्य कुछ लोग उसे हर हालत में आवश्यक और अनिवार्य मानते हैं । पापों का उन्मूलन प्रार्थना और पश्चात्ताप के बिना संभव नहीं है ।

पैगम्बर पाप-मुक्त होते हैं । अशीरी में विश्वास किया जाता है कि उनसे पाप नहीं होता, किन्तु शियाओं की सहशमिया शाखा की मान्यता है कि केवल इमाम शुद्ध और पाप-रहित है । पैगम्बरों से भी पाप-कर्म होना संभव हैं । कुरान (II33 F) भी इसकी पुष्टि करता है । परम्परागत प्रवादों द्वारा पता चलता है कि मुहम्मद साहब को भी अपने पापों के लिए क्षमा-याचना करनी पड़ी थी । ईसा के अनुसार मुहम्मद

साहब ईश्वर से अपने अपराधों के लिए क्षमा-याचना किया करते थे और हुर्रा द्वारा भी इसका समर्थन होता है। ईश्वर स्वच्छन्द कर्ता, शासक, और नियामक हैं। वह बिना किसी स्पष्ट कारण के भी नियम-निर्धारण कर सकता है। इसी धारणा ने पाप की प्रवृत्ति जागृत की। उदाहरणार्थ, ईश्वर के अतिरिक्त अन्य किसी की पूजा पाप है, किन्तु देवदूत ईश्वरादेश का पालन कर आदम की पूजा करते हैं। ईबलिस (शैतान) ने ऐसा करना अस्वीकार कर दिया। इसलिए उसे स्वर्गलोक से बहिष्कृत कर दिया गया। स्वर्ग के लिए जो सही है, वह पृथ्वी पर पाप है।

यहूदी धर्म के अनुसार पाप नैतिक तथा धार्मिक क्षेत्रों में दैवी विधान का उल्लंघन करने में है चाहे वह उपेक्षा किसी भी कारण से क्यों न हो। आदम ने ईश्वरेच्छा का उल्लंघन कर पहला पाप किया था जहाँ से उसका प्रचार-प्रसार आरंभ हुआ। नवजात शिशु हो अथवा प्रौढ़ व्यक्ति सबमें मूल पाप की छाया रहती है। मनुष्य देवलोक स्वर्ग से च्युत होकर देहपिंड धारण करता है। यहूदी धर्म मूल पाप को बहुत अधिक महत्व देता है जब कि ईसाई धर्म ऐसा नहीं करता, यह मानव कृत पाप-कर्मों को महत्व देता है जो ईश्वरादेश और नैतिक आदर्शों की हत्या करके की जाती हैं। ईश्वरेच्छा से विमुख हो मनुष्य जब अपनी स्वच्छंद रीति से आदम का अनुसरण करता है तो वह पाप का भागी बनता है।

यहूदी-परम्परा में पाप का प्रायश्चित्त मनुष्य के हाथों में है। ईसाई धर्म के अनुसार मनुष्य केवल अपने स्वतन्त्र प्रयासों द्वारा प्रभु से विच्छिन्न संबंधों को जोड़ नहीं सकता। इसके विपरीत यहूदी धर्म ने पाप-मोचन के लिए विस्तृत विधानों की व्यवस्था दी है। शुद्ध चित्त से पश्चात्ताप करना मनुष्य को प्रभु के निकट ला देता है। पश्चात्ताप करने पर ईश्वरीय अनुग्रह अपने आप सुलभ हो जाता है। यहूदी धर्म वर्ष की एक निश्चित तिथि पर प्रायश्चित्त दिवस मनाया करता है। इस अवसर पर धार्मिक कृत्य और अनुष्ठान किये जाते हैं जिसमें पाप-स्वीकार को बहुत बड़ा महत्व प्राप्त है। यहूदियों का विश्वास है कि उक्त दिन वर्ष भर के पापों का मोचन होकर ईश्वरीय अनुग्रह प्राप्त हो जाता है। प्रायश्चित्त के लिए कष्टरहित पश्चात्ताप करना यहूदी धर्म का विहित कृत्य है। मृत्यु के अंतिम क्षणों में किया गया पश्चात्ताप सभी पापों का प्रायश्चित्त कर देता है। सांप्रदायिक आधार पर यहूदी पापात्मा और पुण्यात्मा माने जाते हैं। उनके यहाँ पश्चात्ताप जनित प्रायश्चित्त न करना भी पाप के अन्तर्गत गिना जाता है। प्रभु की संतान के रूप में रहने की मनुष्य की अपरिमित तथा उत्कट अभिलाषा तब तक तीव्र बनी रहती है जब तक वह उसे उपलब्ध नहीं कर लेता।

जरथुश्त्र के अनुसार मनुष्य का पाप अहुरमजदा के सद्‌विचारों को अस्वीकार करना है। मनुष्य भले-बुरे कर्मों का चुनाव करने के लिए स्वतन्त्र है। उसके अन्तर में सुरासुरी वृत्तियों के बीच संघर्ष हुआ करता है। बुरे कर्म आंग्रमैन्यु जैसे दैत्यदेव से उत्पन्न होते हैं। अहुरमजदा का ईश्वर और आंग्रमैन्यु ईसाई धर्म के भगवान् और शैतान से मिलता-जुलता है और उसका नैतिक विधान बाईविल के आदेशों जैसा है। ईश्वरेच्छा के अनुसार किया गया कार्य अच्छा है और ईश्वर जो कुछ करता है वह अच्छा होता है। काम के अच्छा होने पर ही ईश्वर उसकी कामना करता है। अवेस्ता ने पाप-मोचन के लिए तपश्चर्या की व्यवस्था दी है।

पाप का भी स्वतन्त्र अस्तित्व है। केवल मनुष्य ही नहीं, संपूर्ण सृष्टि को अपूर्णता से पूर्णता की ओर अग्रसर होना है। पाप-कर्म करना उचित नहीं है, किन्तु वह यदि हो जाए तो प्रायश्चित्त कर लेना चाहिए। प्रायश्चित्त रहित पाप-कर्म बढ़ता जाता है। अहुरमजदा ने पापकर्मी की तीव्र भर्त्सना की है। इसलिए प्रत्येक व्यक्ति को सोने के पहले अपने पाप-कर्मों के लिए तोबा करना चाहिए, क्योंकि पता नहीं सूर्योदय के पूर्व ही यमदूत उसे सोने की दशा में ही ग्रस्त कर लें। पाप से विरत रहने की इच्छुक आत्मा आंतरिक पश्चात्ताप करने भर शुद्ध बन जाती है। पुण्यात्मा स्वर्ग में निवास करता है और नीचकर्मी कुटिल नरकवासी बनता है। पाप-पुण्य के बराबर होने पर वे त्रिशंकु की भाँति हमेस्तगान में ही रह जाते हैं।

जरथुश्त्र धर्म पुनर्जन्म में आस्थावान् नहीं है, किन्तु उसका विश्वास है कि अंततोगत्वा एक नया दैवी संसार प्रादुर्भूत होगा ही। शावशियंत आंग्रमैन्यु के सभी पाप-कर्मों का अंत करेगा। सर रुस्तम मसानी के अनुसार, ऐसी दशा में कुकर्मियों को नरक से बाहर लाकर उन्हें पाप-मुक्त कर दिया जायेगा और उनके दंड-भोग की अवधि का अन्त हो जायेगा। इस प्रकार 'रिश्ताखेज' अर्थात् प्रलय के बाद की परिवर्तित स्थिति उत्पन्न हो जायेगी।

ऐसी दशा में न तो कोई वृद्ध होकर ह्रास को प्राप्त होगा, न मरेगा और अंत में जीव ईश्वर में अंतर्भुक्त हो जायेगा। अंधकार का स्थान प्रकाश ग्रहण कर लेगा और प्रत्येक प्राणी ज्योतिर्मय हो जायेगा। ईश्वरेच्छा का शमन हो जायेगा और ईश्वर ही सब कुछ रह जायेगा।

इस प्रकार पैगम्बरीय धर्मियों में पाप और प्रायश्चित्त के प्रति दृष्टिगत भेद भले ही लक्ष्य किया जा सके, किन्तु जीवन में नैतिक निष्ठा के स्थान एवं महत्व के

प्रति सबका आग्रह एक ही जैसा है। आदम और ईव की कथा को अपने-अपने सिद्धान्त प्रतिपादन का आधार बना सबमें मूल पाप के कारण का निर्देश करते हुए उससे निवृत्त होने का मार्ग पश्चात्ताप और प्रायश्चित्त सुझाया गया है।

फिर भी संसार के सभी धर्म इस विषय में एकमत नहीं हैं। उनके तात्विक भेद और परमार्थिक अंतर का विवेचन अपने आप में एक स्वतन्त्र अध्ययन का विषय है।

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सूर की काव्य भाषा

रामस्वरूप चतुर्वेदी

हिन्दी विभाग, इलाहाबाद विश्वविद्यालय, इलाहाबाद

ब्रजभाषा हिन्दी की मध्यकालीन काव्यभाषा का सर्वश्रेष्ठ रूप मानी जा सकती है; देश और काल दोनों दृष्टियों से उसका प्रसार भी सर्वाधिक रहा। फिर ब्रजभाषा के प्रयोग में सूरदास का स्थान शीर्षस्थ है। स्वभावतः विवेचन के इस अंश का हमारे लिए विशिष्ट महत्व है।

मध्यकालीन संदर्भ में सूर की काव्यभाषा का परीक्षण करते समय एक बात हमारे सामने उभर कर यह आती है कि तत्सम शब्दावली की दृष्टि से सूर और तुलसी की भाषा एक तरह की है, कबीर और जायसी की भाषा दूसरी तरह चलती है। सूर और तुलसी में संस्कृत परम्पराओं के प्रति आदर और विनम्रता है तथा संस्कृत शब्दावली के प्रति उन्मुखता है। कबीर संस्कृत परम्परा और शब्दावली के प्रति खुली उपेक्षा रखते हैं, जायसी में अनभिज्ञता की मुद्रा है। इस तरह सूर और तुलसी में संस्कृत शब्दावली का जड़ाव एक अपना सौंदर्य रखता है; जब कि कबीर और जायसी में तद्भवता की खड़खड़ाहट और मिठास है। सूर और तुलसी की अपनी तुलना में तुलसी ने आरंभ में मंगलाचरण और विनय के संस्कृत श्लोक रख कर 'भाखा' में रचना करते हुए भी संस्कृत को प्रतीकात्मक महत्व दे दिया है, पर सूर सबसे अलग हैं। उनमें न तो संस्कृत के प्रति कोई आतंक भाव है और न तद्भवता के लिए कोई मुखर आग्रह है। उनकी काव्यभाषा और पूरे रचना-संस्कार में तद्भवता या देसीपन अपने एकदम सहज रूप में है, यहाँ तक कि उस की कोई प्रतीति भी नहीं होती। और यह प्रतीति न होना ही तद्भवता या देसीपन की सबसे खरी पहिचान है।

मध्यकालीन कवि अपनी काव्यभाषा के आधार को संस्कृत से अलग करने के लिए प्रायः 'भाखा' कह कर उसे अभिहित करते हैं। पर एक 'भाखा' शब्द का प्रयोग अलग-अलग कवियों ने अलग-अलग अर्थ-छायाओं के साथ किया है, जिससे उनकी अपनी रचना-मनःस्थिति पर अच्छा प्रकाश पड़ता है। काव्यभाषा के प्रति

कबीर का दृष्टिकोण लोक-परम्परा में प्रसिद्ध है-"संसकिरत है कूप जल भाखा बहता नीर"। यहाँ स्पष्ट ही संस्कृत के प्रति एक हल्के तिरस्कार और अवमानना का भाव निहित है, और भाखा के लिए अदम्य उत्साह है। दूसरी तरफ, अनुश्रुति के अनुसार काशी के संस्कृत पंडितों से अपमानित होकर भी, तुलसी अपने भाखा-प्रयोग को लेकर कोई अप्रिय विवाद नहीं खड़ा करना चाहते। इसीलिए वे सीधे-सीधे आत्मतोष का हवाला देते हुए कहते हैं-'भाखा बद्ध करबि मैं सोई। मोरे मन प्रबोध जेहिं होई।' एक अन्य स्थल पर वे संस्कृत और भाखा का विवाद मिटाते हुए प्रेम के तत्त्व पर बल देते हैं—

का भाखा का संस्कृत, प्रेम चाहिए साँच
काम जु आवै कामरी, का लै करै कुमाच।

किंतु परवर्ती कवि केशवदास भाखा का प्रयोग करते हुए अपने को लज्जित अनुभव करते हैं—

भाखा बोलि न जानहीं, जिनके कुल के दास
भाखा कवि भो मंद मति, तेहि कुल केशवदास।

'भाखा' को लेकर कबीर की ललक, तुलसी का अप्रकट और तटस्थ सन्तोष, तथा केशव की कुंठा उनके इन प्रयोगों में साफ झलकती है। पर सूर को काव्यभाषा के किसी विशेष प्रकार के सम्बन्ध में उद्घोषणा करने की आवश्यकता महसूस नहीं होती। उन्हें ब्रजभाषा का प्रयोग सहज भाव से करना था, जिसके लिए कुछ भी सफाई क्यों अपेक्षित थी?

सूर में ब्रज की तद्भव शब्दावली है, और उससे भी महत्त्वपूर्ण बात यह कि ठेठ प्रयोग हैं। सूर की भाषा में यह अघोषित भाखापन उनके संप्रेषण को अधिक दक्ष बनाता है। एक ओर उनकी शब्दावली पाठक को आत्मीयता का भाव देती है, और दूसरी ओर अर्थ-छायाओं का सटीक प्रयोग संभव करती है। रचना में सम्प्रेषण की दृष्टि से ये मूलभूत गुण हैं। यहाँ ठेठ प्रयोगों के कुछ चुने हुए उदाहरण प्रस्तुत हैं। पाठ का आधार धीरेन्द्र वर्मा द्वारा सम्पादित 'सूरसागर-सार' है, जो स्वयं 'सभम' के संस्करण पर आधारित है। जहाँ उद्धरण के साथ अंक दिए हुए हैं वे 'सूरसागर-सार' की पद-संख्या के द्योतक हैं—

करत अचगरी नन्द महर कौ ('कौ का अर्थ 'का बेटा') ३:११०, दिया बाति जनु मिलकी (प्रज्वलित हुई) ५:८३, सुरति स्याम की आई (स्मृति) ५:६६, दियौ तुरत पलनाई (लाद दिया) ६:२३, ब्यौंत (व्यवस्था) ६:१२८,

दै घाली (दे भेजी) ६:१६७, कोतें (के स्थान पर) ७:३१।

इन शब्दों और प्रयोगों में ब्रजभाषा की ठेठ प्रकृति का बड़े शांत भाव से साक्षात्कार होता है, जो जन-जन में प्रचलित कृष्ण-भक्ति की संवेदना को प्रगाढ़ करता है। कहीं-कहीं तो तद्भव प्रयोग बड़े विलक्षण, पर उतने ही सटीक भी हैं। कृष्ण की शरारतों के प्रसंग में, उदाहरण के लिए, 'निर्दोष' से बेहतर शब्द गढ़ा गया है 'अनदोषे': अनदोषेकौं दोष लगावति-२:४८। 'निर्दोष' में दोष से छुटकारे की बात है, पर 'अनदोषे' में 'दोष' ही अकल्प्य है। ऐसा ही प्रयोग लावण्य-रहित के अर्थ में 'बिलोनी' ४:११३ का है।

तत्सम शब्दावली कृष्ण के सौन्दर्य वर्णनों में अपेक्षया अधिक है। यहाँ रूप और शोभा वर्णन के प्रसंगों में कवि परम्परानुमोदित अलंकार-विधान का प्रयोग करता है, और इसीलिए पूर्व प्रचलित तत्सम शब्दावली का सहारा अधिक लेता है। इसके विपरीत जहाँ बाल या युवा कृष्ण की विविध चेष्टाओं के प्रसंग हैं, वहाँ तत्सम शब्दावली बहुत हल्की है, और प्रधानता तद्भवों की है। स्थिर वर्णनों के लिए तत्सम और गत्यात्मक वर्णन के लिए तद्भव, ऐसा कुछ सजग चुनाव कवि की ओर से जान पड़ता है। इससे सूर की वर्णन कुशलता तो झलकती ही है, तत्सम और तद्भव शब्दावली की अपनी प्रकृति और रचना-क्षमता पर भी अच्छा प्रकाश पड़ता है। तत्सम शब्दों में अर्थ का स्थिर रूप है, तद्भव में अर्थ-छाया गत्यात्मक है। यहाँ दोनों प्रकार के उदाहरणों से बात अधिक स्पष्ट होगी—

सोभा कहत कहे नहिं आवै।
अचँवत अति आतुर लोचन-पुट मन न तृप्ति कौं पावे।
सजल मेघ घनस्याम सुभग बपु तड़ित बसन बनमाल।
सिखि सिखंड बन धातु बिराजति सुमन सुरंग प्रबाल।
कछुक कुटिल कमनीय सघन सिर गो-रज मंडित केस।
सोभित मनु अंबुज—पराग—रुचि—रंजित मधुप सुदेस।
कुंडल—किरनि कपोल—लोल छबि नैन कमल—दल मीन।
प्रति प्रति अंग अनंग-कोटि-छबि सुनि सखि परम प्रबीन।
अधर मधुर मुसुक्यानि मनोहर करति मदन मन हीन।
सूरदास जहँ दृष्टि परति है होति तहीं लवलीन।

मैया बहुत बुरो बलदाऊ।
कहन लग्यौ बन बड़ौ तमासौ सब मोड़ा मिलि आऊ।
मोहूँ कौं चुचकारि गयो लै जहाँ सघन बन झाऊ।
भागि चल्यौ कहि गयौ उहाँ इत काटि खाइ रे हाऊ।
हौं डरपौं, काँपौं अरु रोवौं कोउ नहिं धीर धराऊ।
थरसि गयौ नहिं भागि सकौं वे भागे जात अगाऊ।
मो सौं कहत मोल कौ लीनौ आपु कहावत साऊ।
सूरदास बल बड़ौ चवाई तैसेहिं मिले सखाऊ॥

इन पदों की सामान्य तुलना से ही दोनों की भाषिक प्रक्रिया का अन्तर स्पष्ट हो जाता है। स्थिर शोभा-वर्णन के पहले पद में तत्समों-अर्द्धतत्समों की भरमार है, वाक्य-विन्यास काफी सीमा तक संस्कृत जैसा सामासिक है, और इस तत्सम शब्दावली के आधार पर परम्परित ढंग का विस्तृत अलंकार-विधान तैयार हुआ है। दूसरा पद चेष्टा-वर्णन का है, जो आरम्भ से ही गत्यात्मक है। यहाँ तत्सम शब्द प्रायः नहीं है, तद्भव और ठेठ प्रयोगों की व्याप्ति है और समास-शैली का प्रयोग नहीं हुआ। इसके अतिरिक्त ब्रज के औकारांत शब्दों का बाहुल्य है-संज्ञा, विशेषण, क्रिया-सभी रूपों में। फिर बाल कृष्ण की चेष्टाओं का स्वाभाविक और अनलंकृत चित्रण है। भाषिक प्रयोग और संवेदना, दोनों ही दृष्टियों से पहले पद में कृष्ण का तत्सम रूप है, और दूसरे में तद्भव। कहना न होगा कि अधिक काव्यात्मक प्रसंग दूसरी कोटि में ही आते है।

रूप या शोभा वर्णन के प्रसंगों में एक ओर भाषा का रूप तत्सम-प्रिय हो जाता है; कभी-कभी तो क्रिया तक तत्सम पर आधारित हो जाती है, उदाहरणार्थ 'निर्तत' ३:१४६-दूसरी ओर परम्परागत अप्रस्तुत विधानों के बीच से बिंब-योजना आरम्भ होती है, यद्यपि इनके पीछे सहारा बहुत बार साङ्ग रूपक या उत्प्रेक्षा का रहता है। इसीलिए तत्सम शब्दावली से युक्त शोभा-वर्णन के बिंब-प्रयोग प्रायः प्राचीन शैली के अलंकारों से आच्छादित है। सूर के बिंबों की वास्तविक क्षमता स्वतन्त्र प्रसंगों में ही अधिक द्रष्टव्य है।

रचना की भाषिक प्रक्रिया में बिंब की क्षमता जटिल अनुभूतियों के सूक्ष्म अङ्कन में अच्छी तरह समझी जा सकती है। जैसा कहा जा चुका है, बिंब की मुख्य प्रक्रिया दृश्य तत्वों को उभारने में उतनी निहित नहीं जितनी कि किसी जटिल

और गतिशील भाव को अर्थ की द्वन्द्वात्मक शक्ति से परिचालित कर देने में है। इसी माने में बिंब मूलतः अर्थ-संश्लेष है। गोपी के प्रणय की व्याकुलता का अङ्कन है—

सदा रहै मन चाक चढ्यौ, सो और न कछू सुहाइ
करत उपाइ बहुत मिलिबे कौं, यहै बिचारत जाइ
सूर सकल लागत ऐसीये, सो दुख कासौं कहिये
ज्यों अचेत बालक की बेदन, अपने ही तन सहिये। :४:५७:

यहाँ पहली पंक्ति में मन की अस्थिरता और व्याकुलता को व्यक्त करने के लिए पहले घूमने वाले चाक का एक प्रचलित अप्रस्तुत लिया गया है। पर बहुप्रचलित और रूढ़ होने के कारण यह अप्रस्तुत बिंब के रूप में संक्रमित नहीं हो पाता, यद्यपि मन की सूक्ष्म प्रक्रिया को रूपायित करने के लिए वह एक उचित दृश्य उपकरण है। अर्थ-संश्लेष के रूप में बिंब की असली शक्ति अंतिम पंक्ति में अनुभूत होती है। मन की व्याकुलता, जिसे चुपचाप अपने आप सहना है, को अंकित करने के लिए पीड़ित पर अचेत बालक का बिंब विकसित किया गया है। इस बिंब में सारी स्थिति की पीड़ा, निरीहता, निर्दोषता और साथ ही अवशता का जो द्वन्द्व एक साथ उभरता है, वह गोपियों के सरल, निश्छल पर मर्मांतक पीड़ा देने वाले प्रणय को पूरी बारीकी और सुकुमारता में अंकित कर देता है, और अर्थ-प्रक्रिया कहीं पूरी होकर खत्म होती नहीं जान पड़ती, वरन् निरंतर विकसनशील लगती है। पहली और चौथी पंक्ति का अन्तर यहाँ स्पष्ट हो जाता है। 'सदा रहै मन चाक चढ्यो' में एक बहुप्रचलित अप्रस्तुत होने के कारण अर्थ की सूक्ष्मता और गति नहीं है। घूमने की एक ही क्रिया को संकेतित करने के कारण यहाँ अर्थ का द्वन्द्व नहीं चलता। 'चाक चढ्यो' इसीलिए बिंब नहीं बनता, एक मुहाविरा जैसा होकर रह जाता है, जिसमें दृश्यमयता है, संश्लिष्टता नहीं। पर अंतिम पंक्ति में बालक की पीड़ा, निरीहता, निर्दोषता आदि के अनुभव एक दूसरे से टकरा कर एक सूक्ष्म प्रक्रिया को परिचालित करते हैं, और इस प्रकार बिंब की अपनी क्षमता को उन्मुक्त करते हैं। और तब यह बिंब पूरे पद में अलग-अलग अप्रस्तुत विधान नहीं लगता, वरन् चुपके से समूची भाषा का अंग बन जाता है। काव्य-भाषा की बनावट में पौराणिक 'संदर्भ' और 'मिथ' में जो अन्तर है, वैसा ही अन्तर अलंकार और बिंब के बीच में है। संदर्भ और अलंकार भाषा के विन्यास में उभरे-से रहते है, जब कि मिथ और बिंब भाषिक संरचना में घुल जाते हैं।

एक दूसरा बिंब कुब्जा-प्रसंग का लें। कुबड़ी कुरूप कुब्जा को रसेश्वर कृष्ण

के संदर्भ में ग्राह्य बनाना संवेदना के स्तर पर एक कठिन कार्य है। यों कृष्ण परब्रह्म के अवतार हैं, और वे जिस पर चाहे जिस रूप में कृपा कर सकते हैं। पर अनिंद्य सौंदर्य से युक्त कृष्ण मनुष्य रूप में भी हैं, और कुरूप कुब्जा कैसे उन्हें भा गई, इसका कोई संतोषजनक और विश्वसनीय समाधान काव्य की रचना-प्रक्रिया के स्तर पर कवि को देना है। कृष्ण चरित के प्रमुख गायक सूरदास का यह और भी प्रधान दायित्व हो जाता है। कृष्ण और कुब्जा के इस अटपटे दीखते सम्बन्ध को कवि ने एक बिंब के बीच से अंकित किया है। कुब्जा गोपियों को पत्र लिखती है—

हौं तो दासी कंसराइ की, देखी मनहिं विचारी
फलनि मांझ ज्यों करुइ तोमरी, रहत घुरे पर डारी
अब तो हाथ परी जंत्री के, बाजत राग दुलारी
तनु तें टेढ़ी सब कोउ जानत, परसि भई अधिकारी
सूरदास स्वामी करुनामय, अपने हाथ सँवारी। (९ : १७)

यहाँ देखा जा सकता है कि कवि ने किस प्रकार सांग रूपक के विधान को अस्वीकार कर दिया है। कवि द्वारा थोड़े से अन्तर से सांग रूपक के अन्तर्गत तोमरी की कड़ुआहट, टेढ़ापन, उसका तिरस्कृत होना, फिर किसी वादक के हाथ पड़कर उसका बीन होकर मीठा राग प्रसारित करना—ये सब तत्व क्रमशः तुलनीय हो सकते थे। कुब्जा की कुरूपता, उसका विकृतांग होना, समाज में तिरस्कृत होना, फिर कृष्ण के अनुग्रह से उसमें सौंदर्य विकसित होने से। पर सूर पहली पंक्ति के प्रस्तुत का उल्लेख करके छोड़ देते हैं, और फिर धीरे-धीरे कड़ुई तोमरी का बीन में रूपांतरित होने का बिंब उभरता है। तब हम कृष्ण और कुब्जा के निकट सम्बन्ध को अधिक गहरे और संवेदनात्मक स्तर पर ग्रहण करते हैं। कुब्जा की कुरूपता बीन की सुर लहरी में बिलीन हो जाती है।

सूर के बिंब विधान में से अकचक चुना हुआ एक और प्रसंग है। गोपियाँ उद्धव के योग संदेश को अस्वीकार कर देती हैं। पर यह अस्वीकार ऐसा होना चाहिए जिससे कि उद्धव का अपमान न हो, और कृष्ण के लिए कोई संकोच की स्थिति उत्पन्न न हो, साथ ही यह भी स्पष्ट हो जाए कि यह योग-संदेश गोपियों को एकदम अग्राह्य है। इस जटिल और सुकुमार मनःस्थिति को एक विशिष्ट बिंब में से विकसित किया गया है —

जो हित करि पठयौ मनमोहन, सो हम तुमकौं दीनौ
सूरदास ज्यौं बिप्र नारियर, करहीं बंदन कीनौ। (९: १०७)

ब्राह्मण का आशीर्वाद-रूप में दिया गया नारियल भी गृहस्थ स्वीकार नहीं करता। हाथ से स्पर्श करके प्रणाम की मुद्रा में उसे वापस कर दिया जाता है। उस नारियल के प्रति पूरा सम्मान, उस की पवित्रता को मान्यता, पर उसे स्वीकार न करना और यह ध्यान रखना कि देने वाले ब्राह्मण का अपमान न हो—यह बिंब गोपियों के योग-संदेश के प्रति दृष्टिकोण को बड़े सटीक और मार्मिक ढंग से व्यक्त करता है। 'बिप्र नारियर' का बिंब मध्यकालीन काव्य के संदर्भ में बेजोड़ है।

सांग रूपक के भी कुछ बड़े कुशल और नये ढंग के प्रयोग सूरदास में मिलते हैं। ऐसे ही एक प्रसंग में एक विस्तृत सांग रूपक को बाँध कर मानो कवि स्वयं उसे निरस्त करता हुआ अंत में सामान्य भाषा में अपनी बात कहता है। अलंकार का वैभव, उसकी सीमा, और दोनों का संश्लिष्ट प्रयोग सूर की काव्यभाषा की अद्भुत सामर्थ्य को प्रमाणित करता है। सूर का प्रसिद्ध छंद है –

देखियति कालिंदी अति कारी। (१: ६४)

उमड़ती हुई यमुना का सन्निपात में विक्षिप्त युवती से पूरा सांग रूपक बाँध कर अंतिम पंक्ति में कवि कहता है –

सूरदास प्रभु जो जमुना गति, सो गति भई हमारी।

यहाँ पहले तो यमुना प्रस्तुत है और ज्वर में ग्रस्त युवती अप्रस्तुत है। पर अंत तक आते-आते विरहिणी गोपी प्रस्तुत हो जाती है, और यमुना स्वयं अप्रस्तुत। इस प्रकार कवि लंबे सांग रूपक का उपयोग एक नये और कुशल ढंग से करता है। प्रस्तुत और अप्रस्तुत की इस मिलावट में यमुना, विक्षिप्त युवती और विरहिणी गोपी सब अभेद हो जाते हैं, और सांग रूपक की आलंकारिकता अंतिम पक्ति में पहुँच कर सामान्य कथन की भाषा में पर्यवसित हो जाती है। और इन दोनों भाषिक स्तरों की टकराहट से एक नया अर्थ व्युत्पन्न होता है। काव्यभाषा की सर्जनात्मक क्षमता की दृष्टि से सूर का यह पद विशेष रूप से महत्वपूर्ण है।

एक ओर कवि द्वारा अलंकारों का ऐसा कुशल प्रयोग है, और दूसरी ओर अलंकारों की अधिकता और विकृति भी है। बहुत जगह कवि परंपरित अलंकार विधान को यथावत् दुहराता चलता है, और तब अनुभव होता है कि रीतिकाल के अलंकृत और चमत्कार-प्रधान कृष्ण-काव्य का मूल स्रोत शायद सूर के ऐसे पद ही हैं। इस दृष्टि से 'अद्भुत एक अनूपम बाग' (५: १०६) वाला पद प्रायः कुख्यात है। कवि की इस प्रवृत्ति पर टिप्पणी करते हुए रामचन्द्र शुक्ल ने लिखा है "साहित्य-प्रसिद्ध उपमानों को लेकर सूर ने बड़ी-बड़ी क्रीड़ाएँ की है। कहीं उनको लेकर

रूपकातिशयोक्ति द्वारा 'अद्‌भुत एक अनूपम बाग' लगाया है; कहीं, जब जैसा जी चाहा है, उन्हें संगत सिद्‌ध करके दिखा दिया है, कहीं असंगत ।" (त्रिवेणी, पृ० ६५)

पर चमत्कारप्रियता और अत्युक्ति की इन प्रवृत्तियों के बावजूद सूर की काव्यभाषा का मूल स्वर मितकथन का ही है। शब्दों और प्रयोगों के अतिरंजित प्रभाव को न ग्रहण करके उन्होंने प्रायः उनकी हल्की छायाओं को उभारा है। मितकथन की यह प्रक्रिया कई स्तरों पर देखी जा सकती है। सामान्य शब्द प्रयोग के रूप में, रामचरित से संबद्ध पदों में सीता प्रचलित नाम त्रिजटा को 'त्रिजटी' कह कर (प: ९) मानो अपने हृदय की कोमलता, पीड़ा और आत्मीयता को अधिक संप्रेषित कर पाती हैं। इसी प्रकार राम के आगमन की प्रतीक्षा में सगुन मनाती हुई कौशल्या काग से कहती है-"दधि-ओदन दौना भरि दैहौं, अरु माइनि में थपिहौं" (प: १६) मातृका पूजन में काग का अंकन बहुत-सी स्त्रियां करती हैं। इससे बड़ा सम्मान और क्या दिया जा सकता है ? ब्रज क्षेत्र में प्रचलित लोक-जीवन की इस मधुर प्रक्रिया का कवि ने यहाँ बड़ा संवेदनशील उल्लेख किया है।

एक अत्यन्त कोमल प्रसंग वहाँ आता है जब कृष्ण उद्‌धव को ब्रज भेजने के पूर्व वहाँ के निवासियों का संक्षिप्त परिचय देते हैं—

पहिले प्रनाम नँदराइ सौं।
ता पाछैं मेरौ पालागन, कहियौ जसुमति माइ सौं।

— — —

मित्र एक मन बसत हमारैं, ताहि मिलैं सुख पाइहौ
करि करि समाधान नीकी बिधि, मोकौं माथौ नाइहौ। (६: २०)

कृष्ण ने अपने जिस एक 'मित्र' का नामोल्लेख तक नहीं किया, उसकी व्याख्या का प्रयत्न काव्यभाषा के स्तर पर अन्याय जैसा लगता है। सूर द्वारा 'मित्र' शब्द का ऐसा प्रयोग आधुनिक छायावादी काव्यभाषा का स्मरण दिला देता है—

शशि-मुख पर घूंघट डाले
अंचल में दीप छिपाए
जीवन की गोधूली में
कौतूहल से तुम आए ! (आँसू, पृ० १९)

पुल्लिग और स्त्रीलिंग रूपों का यह संश्लेष कुछ छिपाने के लिए नहीं है, वरन् सम्बन्धों की सुकुमारता व्यंजित करने के लिए है। प्रसाद ने कहीं-कहीं ऐसी ही स्थिति में 'अथिति' शब्द का भी प्रयोग किया है।

मितकथन की भाषा, और उससे भी अधिक मुद्रा का एक बढ़िया उदाहरण सूर के रुक्का-प्रसंग में मिलता है। रामचरित वाले अंश का पद है—

बिनती किहिं बिधि प्रभुहिं सुनाऊँ ?
महाराज रघुबीर धीर कौं, समय न कबहूँ पाऊँ !
जाम रहत जामिनि के बीतैं, तिहिं औसर उठि धाऊँ !
सकुच होत सुकुमार नींद मैं, कैसें प्रभुहिं जगाऊँ।
दिनकर किरनि-उदित,ब्रह्मादिक-रुद्रादिक इक ठाऊँ।
अगनित भीर अमर मुनिगन की, तिहिँ तैं ठौर न पाऊँ।
उठत सभा दिन मधि, सैनापति भीर देखि, फिरि आऊँ।
न्हात खात सुख करत साहिबी, कैसें करि अनखाऊँ।
रजनी-मुख आवत गुन-गावत, नारद तुंबुर नाऊँ।
तुम हीं कहौ कृपा निधि रघुपति, किहिं गिनती मैं आऊँ ?
एक उपाउ करौ कमलापति, कहौ तौ कहि समझाऊँ।
पतित-उधारन नाम सूर प्रभु, यह रुक्का पहुँचाऊँ। (प०१८)

यहाँ कुछ भी न कह पाने की मुद्रा जैसे सब कुछ कह देती है। इस दृष्टि से सूर का यह 'रुक्का' तुलसी की 'पत्रिका' (विनयपत्रिका छं० २७७-७८-७९) की तुलना में अधिक कोमल है, यद्यपि सूर यहाँ राम को संबोधित कर रहे हैं जो तुलसी का क्षेत्र है। मितकथन की समस्या से तुलसी भी जूझे हैं अपने ढंग से— "कहे बिनु रह्यो न परत, कहे राम! रस न रहत" (२५६)। पर सूर ने तो उपर्युक्त पद में कहने और न कहने के बीच की भाषिक प्रक्रिया रचना के स्तर पर प्रदर्शित ही कर दी है। 'बिनती' सुनाने में जो संकोच और कठिनाइयाँ हैं उन्हें गिनाते-गिनाते बिनती स्वयं कह दी गई है।

अभी तक हम ने सूर की काव्यभाषा के सर्जनात्मक पक्ष का विवेचन किया। अब काव्यभाषा के आधार-रूप का संक्षिप्त व्याकरणिक विश्लेषण अपेक्षित होगा।

संज्ञा—

संज्ञा के अधिकतर बली रूप ब्रज की परम्परानुसार औकारांत है। ये बली रूप अपनी प्रकृति में प्रायः तद्भव हैं; 'अन्य' रूपों में तत्सम, अर्द्धतत्सम तथा विदेशी प्रमुख हैं। उदाहरणार्थ कुछ रूप प्रस्तुत हैं—

बली :– बानौं (१:५), पानौ (१:५) टीकौ (१:२२), समौ (१:२८), ताँबरौ (१:४२), रानौ (१:४३), अचंभौ (१:४८), दहियौ (२:५२), अधारौ (३:६८), ब्यौरो (४:८७), सँदेसौ,(५:५८), सोधौ(६:२२)

अन्य :—चरन (१:१), कमल (१:१), हरि (१:१), राइ (१:१), कृपा (१:१), पंगु (१:१), गिरि (१:१), रंक (१:१), सिर (१:१), छत्र (१:१), स्वामी (१:१), कर (प:१४), बान (प:१४), प्रतिज्ञा (प:१४), असुर (प:१४,) जननि (प:१६), सगुनौती (प:१६), पाँखि (प:१६)

अपवाद रूप में कहीं-कहीं अवधी-भोजपुरी की तरह दीर्घ रूप भी मिल जाते हैं—मोरवा (५:६८)

औकारांत रूपों की प्रमुखता केवल संज्ञाओं में ही नहीं बली विशेषण और क्रिया के भूतकालिक कृदंत रूपों में भी द्रष्टव्य है-कहन लग्यौ बन बड़ौ तमासौ (३:१२)। यहाँ स्मरणीय है कि देवनागरी में बहुप्रचलित औ लिपिचिह्न का ब्रज के अर्द्धविवृत मूल स्वर उच्चारण की ध्वन्यात्मक दृष्टि से सही रूप होगा ओॅ।

सर्वनाम—

हौं (१:१५), मैं (१:२३), मो (१:११), हमैं (१;२६)

तुम (१:६), तुव (१:११), तैं (१:३३), तू (२:३३), तो (२:५६)
आपु (१:६)

वै (३:१२), बा (३:४४), वा (३:४७), वह (३:४७)

जा (१:१), जिहिँ (१:६), यह (१:१०), इन (१:२४), या (३:४३), ये (४:११५)

जो (१:२), जे (१:१७)

सो (१:२), सु (१:२०)

ता (१:८), तिन (२:३०), तिहिँ (१:१)

कौन (१:५), को (१:७), कोऊ (१:१०), किहिँ (१:१०)

काहू (१:३०), का (१:४७) कहा (२:१६), किन (४:१५१)

विशेषण—बली : बड़ौ (१:१०), आछौ (१:१६), नीकौ (१:२२), मेलौ (१:२४), रीतौ (१:४४), नयौ (१:५०), मीठौ (२:२६), खाटौ (२:२६), सगरौ (२:६१)

अन्य : सब (१:१), अधम (१:४३), मधुर (२:३७,) दृढ़ (३:८४), बड़े (४:३७)

परसर्ग :

कर्म-संप्रदान-अंधे कौँ (१:१), मो कौँ माथौ नाइहौ (मेरे लिए–सम्प्रदान के अर्थ में 'कौ' का प्रयोग-(६:२०), फल कौ (१:२), तुम सौं (१:११), काल व्याल पै (१:४२), देहरि लौं (२:२१)

करण—मो पै (२:३), गुन करि (६:८२)

अपादान—ता तैं (१:८)

सम्बन्ध—गरीबनि हूँ के (१:८), जा की (१:१), प्रान जिवन सब केरे (५:४१)

अधिकरण–राजसूय मैं (१:५), पांडव कैं (१:८), जा पर (१:१०) मन माहिँ (४:४४) पिय पहियाँ (४:१५५), मोहनि पै (४-१५५)

अन्य परसर्ग रूप — कहँ लगि (१:५), गुवालनि हेत (१:७), घर माँझ (१:४२), कब धौं (२:१२), अँचरा तर (२:१६), मुख तन(२:५०)

आधुनिक भाषावैज्ञानिकों द्वारा पश्चिमी हिन्दी-पूर्वी हिन्दी के भेदक रूप में बहुचर्चित कर्ता कारक का परसर्ग –ने यहाँ (और कबीर में भी) अनुपस्थित है ।

परसर्गों के संश्लिष्ट रूप ब्रज की एक प्रमुख विशेषता है । सूर की ब्रजभाषा में भी इन रूपों का बहुतायत से प्रयोग हुआ है । यहाँ कुछ उदाहरण दिए जा रहे हैं–

ज्यौ गूँगै मीठे फल कौ रस (कर्म–१:२), छिनक माहिँ उर नखनि बिदार्यौ (करण-१:७), आवत गाढ़ैं काम (अधिकरण-१:४), जो सुख होत गुपालहिँ

गाऐं (कर्म, और दूसरे प्रयोग में क्रियार्थक संज्ञा से संश्लिष्ट करण का परसर्ग—१:१६), अब कैं राखि लेहु भगवान (सम्बन्ध के परसर्ग में अधिकरण का रूप संश्लिष्ट-१:१८), अपने भरोसैं लरिहौं (करण-१:२१), स्रबननि तुलसी दल (अधिकरण-१:२६), होत कहा अब के पछिताऐं (क्रियार्थक संज्ञा से संश्लिष्ट करण का परसर्ग १:३६), कन-कन कौ चौहटें नचायौ (अधिकरण-१:४२), सुपनैं ज्यौं डहकानौ (अधिकरण-१:४३), भ्रमि-भ्रमि जमहिँ हँसावै (कर्म:१:४८), द्वारैं भीर (अधिकरण-२:४), जसोदा हरि पालनैं झुलावै (अधिकरण-२:७), ताहिँ मँगावत (कर्म-२:२९), आपु गऐं हरुऐं सूनैं घर (क्रियाविशेषण से संश्लिष्ट करण का परसर्ग-२:४६), लाजनि सकुचि जात मुख मेरौ (करण-२:७१), गाढ़ैं बोलि न पावत कोऊ (क्रिया विशेषण से संश्लिष्ट करण का परसर्ग-३:१५), घामैं राखी डारि (अधिकरण -३:५०), बसुधा-भार-उतारन काजैं (सम्प्रदान—३:७७), भक्तनि प्रान अधारौ (कर्म-३:९८), प्रात होत मेरे लाल लड़ैतैं (कर्म-५:५८)

परसर्ग रहित प्रयोग—गर्ब सहित आयौ ब्रज बोरन (३: ७१)

परसर्गों के ये संश्लिष्ट प्रयोग अथवा परसर्ग रहित प्रयोग वस्तुतः भाषा की अभिव्यक्ति सामर्थ्य के द्योतक हैं, और परसर्गों के विषय में यह सामर्थ्य भाषा के प्रवाह तथा भंगिमा से सभंव होती है। उपर्युक्त संश्लिष्ट प्रयोगों को क्रमबद्ध रूप में इस प्रकार रक्खा जा सकता है।

कर्म	– ऐं'	– ऐं,	– हिँ	– नि
करण	–	– नि,	– ऐं,	–
संप्रदान	– ऐं		—	
अधिकरण	–	–	ऐं,–	नि

इन परसर्गों में, या कि संश्लिष्ट होने के कारण इन्हें संस्कृत ढंग की विभक्ति भी कह सकते हैं; – हिँया – हि के संबंध में रामचन्द्र शुक्ल का पर्यवेक्षण महत्व-पूर्ण है। 'जायसी ग्रंथावली' की भूमिका में जायसी की भाषा पर विचार करते हुए वे लिखते हैं "किसी समय संबंध की 'हि' विभक्ति से सब कारको का काम लिया जाता था, पीछे वह कर्म और संप्रदान में नियत सी हो गई। इस 'हि' या 'ह' विभक्ति का सब कारकों में प्रयोग जायसी और तुलसी दोनों की रचनाओं में देखा जाता है।" (पृ० १९६), जायसी और तुलसी की तुलना में, सूर की भाषा में इन संश्लिष्ट परसर्गों

या विभक्तियों का वैविध्य स्पष्ट ही अधिक है, और सूर ने -'हिं' को केवल कर्म-संप्रदान के लिए ही प्रयुक्त किया है।

क्रिया—

सहायक क्रिया—हौं (१: २१), हौ (४: २८), है (१:१०), हैं (१ :३), हुते (६: १), हुती (१: ३६), हुतौ (२: ३०), ही (थी –३: १३७), हे (थे–४:७), आहि (४: १०६), आहिं (८:५)

यहाँ अंतिम दोनों रूप अवधी के प्रयुक्त हुए हैं। रामचरित के पदों में आया हुआ 'आहिं' का प्रयोग तुलसी के ग्राम-वधूटी प्रसंग का स्मरण दिला देता है। 'इनमें को पति आहिँ तिहारे' (सूरदास)-'सुमुखि कहउ को आहिँ तुम्हारे' (तुलसीदास)।

मूल काल - काफी संख्या में मूल काल के प्रयोग अकेले वर्तमानकालिक कृदंत से संभव हुए हैं। जैसे - हरषति, चितवत, किलकत (२:१३)। कहीं-कहीं अकेले भूतकालिक कृदंत का प्रयोग वर्तमान का भाव द्योतित करने के लिए किया गया है, उदाहरणार्थ—काली उरग रहै जमुना मैं, उरग करै तहँ घात (३: १६)।

मूल काल के कुछ सामान्य प्रयोग इस प्रकार हैं—बंदौं (१:१), लंघै (१: १), दरसाइ (१:१), सुनै (१:१), बोलै (१:१), चलै (१:१), धराइ (१:१), आवै (१:२) आई (१:३), देखौ (१:४), मानत (१:४), उबार्‌यौ (१:५), छुड़ायौ (१:६), ढरै (१:१०), सुनौ (१:११), लीन्है (१:११), टरिहौं (१:२१), दुहावै (१:२५), रह्यौ (१;२७), पछितैहौ (१:२७), सेइये (१:३१), पतिआइ (१:३१), खोए (१:३२), कीनो (१:३३), भजिए (१:३८), करियँ (१:३६), खैहैं (१:३६), गीध्यौ (१:४२), सिरानौ (१:४३), बंधत (१:४४), दिखराऊँ (१:४७), जैयतु (२:४७), परानै (२:५८), सिखावहु (३:२), कहियौ (३:२०), परबोध्यौ (३:७६), तरौगी (३:८२), लाग्यौ (३:६४), दीजै (३:६५), पठाई (३:१००), लजानी (३:१५१), बिकाने (३:१६३), कहवैहौ (४:३७), ककोरत (४:७७), त्रासी (संस्कृत तत्सम से सीधे बना क्रिया रूप-४:८६), कीजै (आदरार्थ ४:१५४), होवे (५:२०), जियौ (५:३०) जीजै (५:४०)।

नामधातु—सूरसागर में नामधातु के काफी संख्या में और अच्छे प्रभावशाली प्रयोग मिलते हैं—

पतझरै (१:३१), बुढ़ानी (१:३७), घिनैहैं (१:३६), बिरोधै (१:४०), गरबानौ (१:४३), रिसात (२:५७), त्रसायौ (संस्कृत से सीधे नामधातु २:६५) अधिकैहै (३:१६१), अतुराबी (४:१२४), आदरैं, अपमानैं (४:१३३), सगुनावै (६:२५)

प्रेरणार्थक–बरनावत (५;६५)

संयुक्त क्रिया–संयुक्त क्रिया के प्रयोग सूर की भाषा में प्रायिक हैं–चलि आयौ (१:५), लिये डोलति (१:११), राखि लेहु (१:१८), उघरि नच्यौ चाहत हौं (१:२१), दूरि करौ(१:२३)जात टरौ (१:२४), ठानी हुती (१:३६), चाखन लाग्यौ (१:४५), सूँघि फिर्यौ (१:५३), सुनि आई (२:४), दिवावति डोलति (२:१४), बजावन दै (३:५२), ढूँढ़ति फिरौं (३:६४), ठगति फिरति (३:१२४), लीन्हे आवति हौं (४:८१), जानि लीन्हौ (४:६३), जानि कै (४:१२४), उठि आवत हैं (४:१३२), धँसि लैहौं (५:१५), जरी जात (५:४३), सुरति करत (५:४४), डसि गयौ (५:४४), दियौ–पलनाइ (६:२३)

नामधातु और संयुक्त क्रिया की दृष्टि से सूर का भाषा प्रयोग उनके समकालीनों की तुलना में कहीं अधिक विकसित है; तीन और चार तत्वों तक से बनी संयुक्त क्रियाएँ मिलती हैं-उठि आवत हैं (४;१३२), उघरि नच्यौ चाहत हौं (१;२१)। इससे एक ओर तत्कालीन ब्रजभाषा की अपनी क्षमता प्रमाणित होती है और दूसरी ओर सूर का रचना-स्तर पर आत्मविश्वास भावना। यों ये दोनों प्रक्रियाएँ भी परस्पर सम्बद्ध हैं। भाषा के प्रवाह में शब्द और प्रयोगों को गढ़ सकना किसी भी कवि के लिए उसकी रचना सामर्थ्य का द्योतक है। इस दृष्टि से नामधातु और संयुक्त क्रियाएँ व्याकरण और मुहाविरे के संधि-स्थल पर निर्मित होती हैं। नामधातु और संयुक्त क्रिया जितना व्याकरण का तत्त्व है उतना ही शैली और मुहाविरे का भी। सूर ने इस तरह अपने क्रिया प्रयोगों को रचना के सदंर्भ में बहुत उपयुक्त रूप में गढ़ा है। सांस्कृतिक सदंर्भों से संपृक्त नामवाची शब्दावली अप्रस्तुत विधान और बिंब योजना के लिए उचित आधारभूत तत्त्व हैं, और क्रियावाची प्रयोग भाषा में मुहाविरे का हल्का प्रवाह उत्पन्न करते है। (संज्ञाओं पर निर्मित बड़े मुहाविरे गद्य-भाषा में कुछ खप भी जाएँ, कविता की भाषा में तो मूल संवेदना से ध्यान विकेन्द्रित ही करते हैं। उर्दू शायरी में भी कुशल प्रयोग क्रियाओं या छोटे अव्यय शब्दों से बने हल्के मुहाविरों के माने जाते हैं न कि संज्ञा आधारित लंबे मुहाविरों के[1]) सूर ने काव्यभाषा की सृजन प्रक्रिया मे संज्ञा और क्रियाओं का इस दृष्टि से बहुत सही और सार्थक प्रयोग किया है।

१–तुलना कीजिए ग़ालिब की पंक्तियों में दोनों तरह के प्रयोग। संज्ञा पर आधारित मुहाविरा 'मुफ़्त हाथ आये, तो बुरा क्या है'। क्रिया या अव्यय से बना मुहाविरा–'कोई बतलाओ कि हम बतलायें क्या,' 'हम कहाँ के दाना थे'।

कृदंत–कपट करि (१:३), मारन आई (१:३), अघ व रिबै (१:२२), उघरत नाथ पुकारी (१:२७) भ्रमत-भ्रमत (१:३६), कर कह्यौ न मानत (१:३७), तेई लै खोपरी (१:३९), सिर धुनि-धुनि पछितायौ (१:४५), सो सर छाँड़ि (१:४६), मिलिबे की तरसनि (२:१७), तुरत मथ्यौ दधि-माखन पायौ (२:४६), ताहू के खैबे-पीबे कौं (२:५६), बन तैं आवत धेनु चराए (३:११), न इहिं पथ ऐबौ (३:५८), मेरे कहे मैं कोउ नाहिँ (३:१३८), लैन सो इहाँ सिधारे (५:२०), चलत गुपाल के सब चले (५:६०)

यह पहले ही कहा जा चुका है कि सूर की भाषा में अनेक स्थलों पर अकेले कृदंत क्रिया के पूरे रूपों की तरह प्रयुक्त हुए हैं।

अव्यय—

पुनि (१:१), बार-बार (१:१), न (१:२), हीं (१:२), कित (१:२), बिनु (१:३), नाईं (१:३), सौं (१:४), कै (१:५,) जहँ-जहँ (१:९), तहँ-तहँ (१:९), फिरि-फिरि (१:१०), कत (१:२१), तौ (१:२२), क्यों (१:२५), नाहिन (बलार्थक निषेध १:२७), जिनि (१:३१), हूँ (१:३२), जैसौ (१;४९), जनि (२:२२), जौ (२:४५), किन (२:५१), कैसौ (२:५१), सौ (२:५८), परस्पर (३:६), जनि (३:१०), काहै (३:४६), एकै (–ऐ प्रत्यय बलार्थक है ३:५२), कहा (३:१६७), जब तौं प्रीति स्याम सौं कीन्ही (व्यंग्यार्थ के लिए बलार्थक ४:५७), धौं उनहिँ चुराईं (निश्चयार्थक ४:७९), क्यौं करि (४:१०५), किधौं (४:१११), इयाँ (५:४२), लौं (५:४४), तन (५:११४), सकल ग्वालनि कौं मेरौ कोतौ भेट्यौ (स्थान पर-६:२०), मति लै जाइ (निषेधार्थक ६:३४), मति हिय बिलख करौ सिय (प.१०)।

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CORRESPONDENCE IN POETIC SANSKRIT BETWEEN AN ENGLISHMAN AND AN INDIAN PANDIT IN 1836 A. D.

S. P. CHATURVEDI,
Allahabad.

As a token of homage to my revered teacher, Prof. K. Chaṭṭopadhyāya, who evinced great interest therein on the occasion of the Delhi session of All-India Oriental Conference held in 1957, I am reproducing the two unique letters in ornate poetic Sanskrit written one hundred and thirtyfive years ago. They were discovered by my colleague, Prof. K. K. Budholia (History Dept., Morris College, Nagpur) in Mandla (M.P.). The first letter marked 'A' is written in shining black ink on one side of a paper-sheet of 13" × 8" and contains thirty two verses in 45 lines. The second letter (marked 'B') is written on both sides of a thinner paper-sheet of 8" × 6" and contains in 35 lines twelve verses. The size of alphabets in 'B' is bigger and shows a less skillful hand in writing. The following items of information can be culled out from a close perusal of these letters. The letter (A) is written by one Pandit Rāmachandra of a place near Mandla (M.P.) and is addressed to one Lancelot Wilkinson in Shihoor nagar in Madhya Bharat, and the letter 'B' is a reply from Lancelot Wilkinson to the above-named Pandit. The date as given in letter 'B' is आषाढ़ मास, कृष्णपक्ष, सूर्यंतिथि, बुधवारे of the year 1758 corresponding to 1836 A.D.; and the letter 'A' was written about one month earlier, i.e. आषाढ़ मास (अधिक) कृष्णपक्ष अष्टमी तिथि of the

same year. Curiously enough, the Indian Pandit's letter, like Bāṇa's in the Harṣacarita, gives details of the month, Tithi and fortnight, but not of the year. The year, mentioned in the Englishman's letter 'B' is 1758 reckoned in Shaka era. In Shaka era, the अधिक मास precedes the शुद्धमास, therefore there is an interval of about one month intervening between the two letters. Taking into consideration, the means of communication available one hundred years before, and assuming that Shihoor nagar is modern Sihore near Bhopal, the time of one month is quite reasonable.

We know that the fourth decade of the nineteenth century was the time when the medium of education was a topic of hot discussion among the authorities of East India company. Though ultimately, English was declared as the official language and began to be taught as the medium of instruction in Indian schools and Sanskrit was dethroned from its high position, it is interesting to see that the correspondence between an English officer and an Indian Pandit was carried on in Sanskrit, and that too in high-flown verses of various metres. Herein lies the importance of these letters.

Below is summarised the contents of the two letters. In the letter 'A' Pandit Ramchandra sends (Vs. I & II) his blessings to the great patron of letters, Wilkinson Saheb, saying that his own poetic Muse need not have the feeling of despair due to the Kali age, because the great ruler Wilkinson is there ruling over the earth. After conveying (Vs. III) the news of his all-round welfare, he refers (Vs. IV.) to the Saheb's letters received earlier by him with great delight. Then he meets (Vs.V) the charge of the Saheb of पुनरुक्तिदोष in

his earlier letters by saying that a knot should be tied more than once to make it stronger. Then he refers to his present chief Maclot Saheb, who though very busy spares some time to study Sanskrit, and has made fairly good progress (Vs. X.). Then he proceeds (Vs. XII) to mention that a Maithila Brāhmaṇa named Vāsudeva, has been employed in Mandla for teaching children. As the employed teachers were taking classes in their own houses, their mode of teaching could not be known by him and Maclot Saheb. The construction of a school building was under active consideration (Vs. XV). To an earlier enquiry from Wilkinson about the number of students in his school, Pandit Ramachandra says that the people there (Vs. XVI) are rustic and are not study-minded. Then he enquires from Wilkinson about the condition of study in his place (Vs. XIX) and requests him to send if available, some easy books useful for children (Vs.XX). He strikes a personal note by saying (Vs.XXI) that he was very sorry to hear that the Saheb suffered from eye troubles. In the end he asked pardon for saying (Vs. XXII–XXV) in ornate language some striking and charming things, and reproduces the (Vs. XXVII) well-known Verse that Saheb's well-known fame in the form of a she-swan reached heaven and there coming in union with the he-swan of Brahmā gave birth to a child, the white shining moon seen in the sky. After imploring the Saheb (Vs. XXX) for sending a reply, he closes the letter (Vs. XXXI), giving details of the month, day, etc. but not of the year.

In the letter 'B' Lancelot Wilkinson in a similar strain pays (B Vs. I-II) his humble homage to the well-known Pandit Shri Rāmachandra. After intimating his

(Vs. III) welfare in Sihoor nagar, he expresses his joy on reciving the Pandit's letter. He congratulates (Verse IV) the Pandit for meeting successfully his charges of पुनरुक्तिदोष made in earlier correspondence; he says that he purposely raised the objection to arouse the Pandit to indulge in poetic fancy, as one blows out breath over the fire only to make it to emit more flames. About the condition of study in Sihoor, the Saheb says that (Vs. VII) it was the same as seen by him before. About his eye-trouble, he says that (Vs. VII) his eye-trouble was chronic and that it was better at the time of writing the letter. He also refers to the rusticity of the locality and to the sparse population in that region. But, he adds, (Vs. VIII) there is nothing impossible in the world and hopes that, like the marks caused by the rubbing of a rope on the well-stone, improvement can be effected in the knowledge of the local people. In the end, he refers (Vs. IX) to the poetic excellence of the Pandit's letter and expresses his inability to fully comprehend it. After the subsequent three Verses (X-XII) by a scribe, also named Ramachandra, the letter comes to a close with इत्यलमतिपल्लवितेन, followed by the signature in initials "L. W." with words P. A. (Political Agent, or Personal Assistant) written below the initials. In the tenth Verse of the letter, it is stated that under the command of the great master, i.e. Lancelot Wilkinson, the preceding nine Verses have been composed in honour of Pandit Ramachandra. Thus it becomes clear that Wilkinson Saheb got these Verses composed as his reply to Pandit Ramachandra's letter, 'A'

As compared to Pandit Ramachandra's letter, Wilkinson's letter is rather formal, less ornate, to the

point and is comparatively free from hyperbole and exaggarations. So there is no doubt that the ideas are his own and that they were put into Sanskrit by another Pandit. As Wilkinson himself was a तीक्ष्णमति student of Sanskrit and a great patron of Pandit, not only the ideas but also expressions and phrases may have originated from him. The similes (Vs. V & VIII) यथा फूत्कृतेनाग्निरुद्दीप्यमानः and कूपविनिबद्धदृषत्सुरेखाः are obviously his own.

The language of these two letters and the homely subject matter found in these letters clearly show the Panditic traidition of correspondence is Sanskrit. That an Englishman scrupulously followed the current tradition is an ample proof, if it were needed, of the current practice of those days to employ Sanskrit as a medium of correspondence.

The Sanskrit of the letters is direct, forceful and of practical nature. There is a flow and an air of popular language in the letters, though it cannot be denied that the very idea that the letters were written in Verses and long compounds were not avoided, show the artificiality of the style. Sometimes, the expressions are uncouth, and complicated. Metrical defects are not absent (e,g, खलु प्राग in B-VI). Pandit Ramachandra and the scribe Ramachandra, both are not free from spelling mistakes (e.g, श्रुणोतु (A-VIII), ब्रूम : (A-VIII), कूर्मो (A-XVI), विद्वस्नेह (A-26), शुभेशु (A-26), पश्यंतु (B-8), विनिवत्ध (B-8), श्रापीतरे (B-9)

But despite these blemishes, there is a literary ornateness. The varieties of metres is striking, and there are as many as eleven varieies of metres in only twelve

verses of the Englishman's letter, 'B'. The popular metres of Sanskrit poetry, like शार्दूल-विक्रीडित, आर्या, हरिणी, इन्द्रवज्रा, भुजंगप्रयात, स्रग्धरा, वसन्ततिलका, मालिनी, प्रहर्षिणी, ताण्डवछन्द etc. all figure there in the English-man's letter, 'B'. This fact alone will show the *great* literary flourish in these letters. It may also be noted that these two letters were not the only letters between the Englishman and the Indian Pandit, as can be easily inferred from the statements in the letter 'A'.

A

विद्राणैव गुणज्ञता समुदितो भूयानसूराभरः
कालोयं कलिराजगाम जगतीलावण्यकुक्षिंभरिः ।
इत्थं भावनया मदीय कविते मौनं किमालम्बसे
जागर्तु क्षितिमण्डलोपरि महान् विल्किन्सनाख्यो नृपः ॥

स्वस्तिश्रीलसितेषु तीक्ष्णमतिषु क्ष्मापालभालस्थल-
प्रत्यक्षोन्नतभूषणेषु विदुषां जीवातुभूतेषु च ।
बालाज्ञानतमस्त्रिमूर्तिषु तथा भूते(षु) प्रसूतेष्वपि
सद्योद्यत्करुणाकरेषु सततं तथ्यार्थसंवादिषु ॥१॥

यैः स्वप्रोद्दामधाम्ना निजमतिविभवैर्द्राक् प्रयत्नान् सुरत्नान्
कृत्वा दत्वा बुधेभ्यो गुणगणतरवो रोपिताः पोषिताश्च ।
तेषु क्ष्मारक्षकेषु प्रणयिजनमनः कल्पनाकल्पकेषु
विल्किन्सन्साहिबेषु प्रगुणगुणगणानन्दकोद्यद्यशस्सु ॥२॥

श्री रामचन्द्राभिधपण्डितेन भवत्कृपामौक्तिकमण्डितेन ।
अनेककोटिप्रमिता इतः कृता भवत्सु राजन्तुतरां सदाशिषः ॥२॥

इहातिकुशलं प्रभो निरवधि त्वदीयं हित—
न्ममास्ति समपेक्षितं रचयतात् तथा शंकरः ।
भवद्भिरतिसुन्दरी बुधमनोरुचेस्तोषिणी
कृपाभरविबोधिनी स्वशुभपत्रिका प्रेषिता ॥३॥

त्वया धनसमानया मम मनोमयूरः क्षणात्
प्रतिक्षणविलक्षणं विविधलक्षणं नर्तितः ।
भवत्सुभगवृत्तकं जनगुणर्द्धिसच्चिन्तकं
निवेद्य खलु साधितोप्यनुभवः सुधाया मम ॥४॥

यत्पूर्वपत्रे भवता व्यलेखि मदीयपद्ये पुनरुक्तिदोषः ।
ज्ञेयो न सोस्मन्मतसम्मतो यतो न्यायैरनेकैर्भवतीह वारणम् ॥५॥

निबध्यते ग्रन्थिरनेकवारमेकैव लोकैर्दृढताप्तये यतः ।
तेनैव पद्येन तदेव देव मयाप्यतः प्रार्थितमस्ति पत्रे ॥६॥

यद्वा युवत्यन्तरं त्वं शृणु नृप भवता साधितः स्वान्तसंस्थो
भावः सर्वोप्यतो मे तदितरमधुना प्रार्थितुं नास्ति किंचित् ।
इत्येतद्ज्ञापितु तल्लिखितुमपि पुनः पत्रिकायामलेखि
प्राज्ञैश्चित्ते विचार्यं सदसदिदमिति प्रायशो दर्शिता दिक् ॥७॥

अतो न वाच्यः पुनरुक्तिदोषः सन्तोषकस्वीयगुणैर्जनानाम् ।
अयि प्रभो स्वीयनृपस्य वृत्तं ब्रूमः शृ (?) णोतु प्रथमं भवान् तत् ॥८॥
अनेककार्याकुलचित्तवृत्तेः श्री मेखलोटाख्यनृपालमौलेः ।
संजायते नो बहुशोऽवकाशो यथावकशं पठतीह नित्यम् ॥९॥

अतीवमतितीक्ष्णताभरबलान्मदीयो नृप–
स्तथापि सुरवाक्यदेविविधमर्मवेत्ताभवत् ।
अनेकजनुभिः कृतं सततधर्मं सत्कर्म यत्
तदीयफलभागसाविति न माननीयः स्मयः ॥१०॥

गीर्वाणी श्रेणिगर्भस्थितमिदमखिलं कर्तृकर्मादि किञ्चित्
किञ्चित् ज्ञात्वा मदीये मनसि घनतरानन्दकन्दं विधाय ।
सम्यग्रम्यः सुगम्यः सततजनहित श्रावकः संप्रतीत्थं
ग्रन्थोनेनाधिपेन प्रथममतिमुदा पठ्यते बोध्यमेतत् ॥११॥

मदीयराज्ञः खलु धर्मकर्म किन्न श्रुतं ख्यातमपीह लोके ।
यदेकविप्रोऽर्भक पाठनेऽत्र नियोजितो योजितपाठनक्रमः ॥१२॥

यवननगरकल्पेऽनल्पलोको द्विजानामिह न पठति विद्यां चेतसीत्थं विचिन्त्य ।
यवनजनवरीणः स्वीयशास्त्रे धुरीणः सुजनशिशुगणानां पाठकः सोप्यकारि ॥१३॥

तथैव रेवातटमण्डलांकिते सदैव सत्पण्डितमण्डलीयुते ।
श्रीमण्डलाख्ये नगरेपि योजितः सत्पाठको मैथिलवासुदेवः ।।१४।।

तेषां शिक्षाप्रकारः किमपि नहि मया मन्तृपेणापि सम्यग्-
ज्ञातः शश्वद्यतस्ते निजगृह निवसद्बालकान्पाठयन्ति ।
शिक्षाशालां विशालां विरचयितुमतश्चिन्त्यते साहिबेन
स्याच्चेदत्राप्यवश्यं गुण गणरसिकाः संभविष्यन्ति लोकाः ।।१५।।

यच्चोक्तं भवता कियत् शिशुजनाः संपाठिता यत्पुन—
स्तत्रास्ति द्विजमण्डली गुणगणाभ्यासस्य चैतत्फलम् ।।

तत्प्रोक्तं सकलं सदेव भवता कुर्मो वयं किं यतो
नास्ति ब्राह्मणमण्डली किमुत हो लोका वनस्था इह ।।१६।।

अतश्च कालेन बलेन साध्या अनेकविद्याविविधा बुधाश्च ।
भवादृशा यत्र गुणप्रयोजकाः किन्तत्र यत्नेन ममास्त्यसाध्यम् ।।१७।।

अस्माभिस्तु निजं वृत्तं लिखितं निखिलं नृप ।
परन्त्वग्रिमपत्रे तु भवद्भिरपि लिख्यताम् ।।१८।।

भवत्पाठशाला अशेषबालाः कियन्तः स्वविद्यालोकसंतोषयन्तः ।
कियद्भिः कथं किं पठ्यते सर्वमेतद्भवन्तो लिखन्तु स्वान्तमानन्दयन्तु ।।१९।।

ये ग्रन्थाः शिशुपाठने ऽतिसरलाः स्वल्पास्त्वनल्पार्थका
येषामध्ययने भवन्ति विविधज्ञानानुमानान्विताः ।
स्युश्चेते तव सन्निधौ गुणनिधे संप्रेषणीया यतोऽ-
नल्पस्वान्तकृपाव्ययं प्रणयतः कृत्वैव तोष्या वयम् ।।२०।।

परन्तु राजन् भवदीयचक्षुषोः श्रुतो विकारः श्रमसंभवो मया ।
अतश्च मे चित्तमतीव दुःखितं सत्कर्मकर्तुः कथमेवमापदः ।।२१।।

भवतु मे ललिताववितामिता नृपधियेति मयेह न कल्पितम् ।
किमपि वृत्तमिदं स्वकपोलतः प्रकृतिसुन्दरमेव हि सुन्दरम् ।।२२।।

एतन्नगरकल्पस्थमित्थं वृत्तं यथामति ।
निवेदितं पुरस्तेद्य किं सुज्ञेषु विशेषतः ।।२३।।

चमत्काररसास्वादमोदसंमोदिता बुधाः ।
आनन्दं न च विन्दन्ति विना ऽलंकृत सद्वचः ॥२४॥

युक्त एवास्ति मार्गोयं दाक्षिण्यं वर्धते यतः ।
अतोऽन्यद्वक्तुमिच्छामि यत्र सन्ततविस्मयः ॥२५॥

विद्वत्स्नेहनिधे गुणोदधिसुधास्वादैकसंमोदित-
स्वान्तानन्तशुभं शुभेशु कलितं वृत्तं मया यत् श्रुतम् ।
अत्युक्तौ यदि न प्रकुप्यसि मृषावादं न चेन्मन्यसे
तत्रा मोद्भुतवस्तु वृत्तकथने व्यग्राः कवीनां गिरः ॥२६॥

भ्रान्त्वा भूवलयं गुणीश्वरवर त्वत्कीर्तिहंसी गता
व्योम्नि ब्रह्ममरालसंगमवशात् सा तत्र गुर्विण्यभूत् ।
पश्य स्वर्गतरंगिणी परिसरे तद्वर्णसालक्षितं
सात्रासूत नवीनमण्डकमिदं शीतद्युतेर्मण्डलम् ॥२७॥

सदोदितकृपानिधे प्रथितकीर्तिपूर्णावधे
विवेकवचनोदधे श्रृणु मदीयमेकं वचः ।
भवद्गुणगणाश्रियः कणमपि प्रवक्तुं प्रभुः
कृतो न विधिनास्मि तत् प्रणयपुंजतः पूर्यताम् ॥२८॥

अलमस्त्वतिविस्तारः सुज्ञेषु वचसां मम ।
लाघवेनैव मोदन्ते पंडितास्तर्कमंडिताः ॥२९॥

इत्थमेवेह संप्रेक्ष्य पत्रं रत्नसमं भवान् ।
संतोषयतु मत्स्वान्तं क्लांतं कांत्या यथा विधुः ॥३०॥

आषाढे मलिने मासे कृष्णपक्षे अष्टमी तिथौ ।
रामचन्द्रो लिखत्प्राज्ञः श्लोकमौक्तिकमालिकाम् ।
इत्याशीराशयः शुभम् ।

B

श्रीमद्वेदतदंगतर्ककविता।साहित्यश्रृंगारसन्मीमांसाद्वयनीतिनिर्णयपुराणादिश्रुतैः—
विश्रुतैः ।
आचारैरपि मण्डितेषु विमलैः श्रीरामन्द्राख्ययाख्यातख्यातिषु पंडितेषु परमानन्दानु-
संधायिषु ॥१॥

लान्सीलट् विल्किन्सन्साहबबहादुरेण संरचिताः ।
नतिततयः शतमितयः सततं विलसन्तु सन्तु तत्प्रीत्यै ॥२॥

शहूरनगरे वरे कुशलमत्र तत्रत्यकं सदा भवदनामयं विलिखितव्यमस्मन्मुदे ।
भवद्भिरधुनाऽमला विततपत्रिका प्रेषिता तदीक्षणसमक्षणं क्षण इतः सुहृल्लक्षणः।

आम्रेडितश्लोकनिविष्टदोषसंवारणं साधुकृतं भवद्भिः ।
इत्थं भवद्वाग्लहरी विनोदं द्रष्टुं किलास्माभिरधायि दोषः ॥४॥

यथा फूत्कृतेनाग्निरुद्दीप्यमानः स्फुरत्येवमाक्षिप्यमाणा महान्तः ।
रसावेशतो वीरश्रृंगारपूर्णां चमत्कारयुक्तां गिरन्ते गिरन्ते ॥५॥

इति भावनया लिखितं खलु प्रागितरत्सहसा न हि चिन्त्यमहो ।
विदितं सकलं यदलेखि भवत्प्रभुणा पठितं कृतकृत्यमपि ॥६॥

अत्रत्या पाठशाला सशिशुगुरुयुता यद्भवद्दृष्टपूर्वा
तद्वृत्तं किं विलेख्यं विदितमपि पुनर्लेखने को विशेषः ।
अस्मन्नेत्रव्यथा त्वव्यवसितमतिवत् सर्वदानैकरूपा
तस्मान्निश्चेतुमर्हा नहि परमधुना किंचिदारोग्यमस्ति ॥७॥

अत्रास्त्यरण्यजनता धनताविहीना तेनाशु किं पठितुमर्हति साधुविद्यां ।
इत्यद्भुतं हि विदुषां किमसाध्यमत्र पश्यंतु कूपविनिबद्धदृषत्सुरेखाः ॥८॥

अनल्पकल्पपादपप्रवालकोमलामला सरस्वती विराजते स्म रामचन्द्रशास्त्रिणां ।
विलोक्य तामुताकुला भवंति चंडपंडिता आपीतरेऽस्मदादयः प्रबोद्धुमीशते कथं ॥६॥

॥ अथ प्रभ्वाश्रितरामचंद्रो वदति ॥

इतिविविधविचित्रवृत्तरत्नैर्नवभिरियं ग्रथिता मयाद्य माला ।
प्रभुवरविहिताज्ञया मनोज्ञा विलसतु पंडितरामचंद्रकंठे ॥१०॥
वत्सरे नागभूताश्वभूसंमिते शोभनाषाढके कृष्णपक्षे तिथौ ।
अर्कनाथे बुधे वासरे पत्रिकां रामचंद्रो ऽलिखत् सत्पदामत्रिकां ॥११॥

तत्पत्रसमवृत्तं यद्यत्र नास्ति तथाऽपि ते ।
लाघवेनैव तुष्यंतु शास्त्रिणः सुवचोस्त्रिणः ॥१२॥

इत्यलमतिपल्लवितेनेति नतिः ॥

HINDUS AND TURKS : INDIA—CENTRAL ASIA CONTACTS FROM PRE-HISTORIC TIMES (INDO-EUROPEANS AND ALTAICS)

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

Literature and Art among the Altaic People

Various points of contact between the Altaic and the Indo-European peoples in their original home-lands, respectively in the Eastern and Western sections of the Eurasian steppes, may come out through closer scrutiuy by competent–specialists, in both linguistics and archaeology and pre-history and culture. We may however be justified in assessing that the Hindu, at least in one of his original component elements (namely the Aryan or Indo-European), was face to face with the Altaic Turk long before either of them came to India and the lands of the Middle East, some four thousand years ago ; and that this contact was that of peaceful interchange of objects, ideas and practices of these primitive peoples living as close neighbours within the same or a similar geographical and economic milieu.

The few planks of a common cultural platform such as can be reasonably surmised to have existed among the Altai people and the primitive Indo-Europeans, say about 3000 B. C., were later on strengthened and reinforced by a closer and more intimate contact in the steppes of Central Asia and South Russia with one branch of the Indo-Europeans, the Aryans or Indo-Iranians. These latter, after having passed down from the original Indo-European homeland in the steppes to the south of the

Ural Mountains through the Caucasus Mountains to Northern Mesopotamia and Iran, became transformed into the Iranians of history by 1000 B.C. A rather backward section of these Iranians, known to their brother-Aryans in Iran as *Sakas* (and as *Śakas* in India) and to their Greek cousins as *Skuthoi* (or *Scythians*, which Greek word has been modified in English as *Scyth* and in Russian as *Skif*) appear either to have stayed on or to have come back as a back-wash to their original homeland in the steppes of Southern Russia beyond the Caucasus Mountains and to the steppes of Central Asia by the Caspian and Aral Seas to the north of the Amu and Syr (Oxus and Jaxartes) rivers. This wide tract of land came to be known to the Greeks as *Scythia*, the land of the *Skuthoi* or *Sakas*. And here these scions of the Indo-Europeans, back in their homeland more or less under the ancient conditions, built up a distinctive culture of their own which was Iranian as its basis, but very deeply modified by the art and culture of the Greeks who would come to these regions of the North for purposes of trade. The Scyths also became susceptible to a deeper influence from their Altaic neighbours in the East and the North, and they took up with zest certain art-forms in metal, wood and bone, with animal figures–horses, reindeer and other kinds of deer, tigers and panthers, which developed among the Altaics, as decorations for objects of personal use like belt-buckles, combs, weapons and clothes and trappings. Here the Altai peoples were largely under the influence of Shang and Chou and Early Han China, with whom the ancestors of the Altaic peoples–the Turks and Mongols–came to be in hostile contact, as nomadic raiders and plunderers constantly attacking a settled Chinese agricultural population which was quite early

well-established in the Hwang–Ho Valley. This apparently started from round about 1000 B.C. By the time that the great Achaemenian Empire of the Persians (Iranians) was established in the Middle East and became a force in World Civilisation of the day, roughly by 550 B.C., the Scythian Iranians had established their composite culture, which may be properly labelled as 'Altai- Indo-European' in the steppes of Scythia and the Valley of the Oxus and Jaxartes in Central Asia and further north in South-Western Siberia.

We have thus in the Central Asian and South Russian civilisation of the Scyths, with their Altaic neighours beside them as clients or underlings, another and perhaps the final period of Altaic and Indo-European–or Turk and Aryan–cultural contact and miscegenation as a significant fact in the history of the development of civilisation in Asia. The Altaic peoples did not develop any high art themselves, whether plastic or literary, in ancient times. Excepting perhaps the animal figures in a conventionalised manner, in bronze mostly, they have to show nothing of an arresting quality which goes back to the beginning of the Christian era. Iranian (Scythian) co-operation was of great importance for this. Their bronze plaques and gold belt–buckles, however, are very distinctive, and they show Altaic–Scythian art of a very fine type, going back to the 7th-6th century B.C. (See figures 19 and 20, p.31 in Tamara Talbot Rice's *Ancient Arts of Central Asia,* Thames and Hudson, London 1965. See also the whole series of beautiful colour reproductions of specimens of this nomadic Iranian-Saka-Sarmatian- and Altaic art in E. D. Phillips's *The Royal Hordes : Nomad Peoples of the Steppes* : Library of Early Civilisation : London, Thames and Hudson, 1965). Other similar

animal figures in textile and wood are from the remains at Pazyryk in Siberia, done by Altaian craftsmen in the Scythian tradition in the 5th century B.C. (See figures 21,22,23,24, pp. 32, 33 of the above work. See also the work by E.D. Phillips). There are scores of these ancient bronze plaques with animal figures which we find illust-trated in works on the art and culture of the Scythians.

We do not have any ancient literary remains in any of the old Altaic languages before 500 A. D. Doubtless there was a tradition of epic or romantic story telling which was current among the ancestors of the Turks and Mongols, prior to what we find in the Old Turki Orkhon Inscriptions in Runic characters of the first half of the 8th century A. D., and in an epic tale like that of *Oguz-Name* in Early Middle Turki of about the 11th century A. D. (?), as well as in the basic, historic and romantic ballads which form the background of the oldest Mongol work, the 'Secret History of the Mongols' (*Mongol-un Nigucha Tobchiyan*, c. 1240 A. D.), in the Old Mongol ballads like *Hoyor Zagal* or 'The Two Horses, (of Chinggiz Khan, 1155-1227, and in the Kalmyk Mongol *Epic of Jangar*, 15th century. But fortunately from Siberia we have several gold belt-buckless dating round about the birth of Christ (1st century B. C. — 1st century A. D.) which appear to have been the work of Altaic craftsmen, probably Turki-speaking, and earlier still (about 3rd century to 1st century B. C.) we have some bronze plaques from the Ordos region. In these precious artifacts we seem to see the oldest Altaic plastic depiction of some of their old romantic tales which evidently passed by word of mouth. These evoke scenes and situations from the life of the nomad Altaic horsemen of Siberia and Central

Asia in their ancient heroic age, their epic life of fighting and romance and hunting, late echoes of which we find in Old Turki and Old Mongol literature (respectively of the 8th-11th and 13th-14th centuries). In one of the gold belt-buckles, we have the figure of "a rider who has leapt from his horse to seek safety in a tree from a wild boar, whilst a second rider pursues the beast," and another gold belt-buckle, in one of its halves, "shows a warrior sleeping under a tree with his head resting on a woman's lap ; his *gorytus* (bow-case and quiver) hangs from the tree, and an attendant holds the couple's horses." All the figures in this particular buckle have typical Mongoloid features. Another gold buckle from Siberia shows a wolf fighting a serpent (see figures 105, 106 and 107, pp. 96, 97, in E. D. Phillips's work, and figures 27, 28 and 29, pp. 36-37, in Tamara Talbot Rice's book noted above). Of the bronze plaques (figures 32 and 33 in Tamara Talbot Rice's book), one illustrates the story of a hand-to-hand wrestling fight between two warriors who have got down from their mounts to settle by wrestling, and the other shows the two horses of the opposing warriors carrying on the fight among themselves.

A great artistic and cultural value in appraising the romance of old Altaic life is thus attached to these remarkable artifacts from Central Asia of 2000 years ago.

China and the Altaic people : and Indio-Aryan and Altaic (Hindu and Turki) Cultural Contacts in Central Asia through Buddhism from the first half of the first Millennium A. D.

The primitive Altaic peoples—the early Turks and Mongols—were thus going along the line of their cultural

development as a nomadic steppe people with their flocks of sheep and herds of horses and camels and cattle. There was, as said before, a good likelihood of their coming into contact with their Western neighbours the Primitive Indo-Europeans. But they had closer connexions from the beginning with their immediate Eastern neighbours, the Chinese. The beginnings of the great civilisation of China go back to some 2000 years before Christ, and Chinese tradition takes the first dynasty of kings ruling a settled and civilised country to 1800 B.C. (the Shang Dynasty, from 1766 or 1583 to 1128 B. C.), and before it to the mythological Hia (Hsia) dynasty which goes back to 2000 B.C. This civilisation was quite in contrast to that of the nomads, being based on agriculture (cultivation of rice and millets and wheat) and stock–raising (pigs, horses, cattle and sheep), with some important crafts like growing and weaving cotton and rearing silk-worms and preparing silk cloth, as well as bronze-casting and working in jade and other stones. They developed a pattern of civilised life with a well-organised economy and a stable system of administration, as well as war-fare with regular armies of infantry, horsemen and charioteers. Soon after the establishment of this civilisation of China on the material plane, the Chinese started, after 2000 B.C. that unique expression of their culture–the Chinese script, consisting of pictograms and ideograms and then of phonographs, with all sorts of combinations of these 'characters' to meet the needs of a growing vocabulary in speech and writing of a highly sensitive language. The script started with the primitive picture-characters which used at first to be scratched with an iron stylus on bone and tortoise-shell, and then would be engraved on bronze vessels, and latterly would be incised with the

stylus upon bamboo-slips ; and this gave the first Chinese books consisting of bundles of incised bamboo-slips with the writing moving from top to bottom, by 1000 B.C. Later on these bamboo-slip books were supplanted by sheets of silk cloth with the characters painted on them with brush and ink, at the turn of the Christian era, and then finally by paper and brush and ink.

This civilisation, with the good and luxurious and even opulent living it presented with its stores of grain and various kinds of meat and raiment in silk, flax and cotton, with its houses and palaces and forts, its furniture in wood and utensils in bronze, and its gorgeous ceremonial in religion and in state, fascinated and captivated the simple Altaic nomad from the bleak steppes and mountains of the North-West. And the latter, the nomads who were the ancestors of the Turks and Mongols and Manchus and other tribes, started, simultaneously with the establishment of this civilisation, the habit of raiding the settled Chinese builders of it to despoil them of their goods, and even, if occasion presented itself, to rule over them as their masters. The Chinese naturally gave resistance, and they tried all means to keep off the nomads and force them to live in their own territories, by force and by conciliatory policy if force failed, and finally by seeking to wall-off their home-land from these marauders by building as a great measure of defensive military engineering the great China Wall under the Han Emperors from the 3rd century B.C. But the nomad Altaics could not be shaken off, or restricted in their movements, and they continued to be a thorn on the side of China for over two millennia. Frequently enough, they forced themselves as conquerors and rulers over China, and gave rise to a series of ruling houses of nomad

origin in China from the early centuries of the Christian era onwards. These nomad conquerors and masters of China easily yielded to the superior civilisation of China and became themselves merged into the Chinese, losing their separate identity in language and ways of life; and the fact of their belonging to the same Mongolian race as their Chinese subjects, made their assimilation and absorption a matter of course.

We have thus the first international adventuring of of the Altaic Turko-Mongol peoples in the East among the Chinese some 3000 years ago. Century after century the Altaics were pressing upon the Chinese from the North, and were giving them a succession of *Herrenvolk* or ruling houses and ruling clans, about whom we have records in Chinese documents from the closing centuries of the first millennium B.C. like the Huns (=Chinese Hiong-nu) of Turk tribe and speech, the **Tab-gac* (=in Modern Chinese *To-pa*), the **Turk-ut* (=in Modern Chinese *Tu-kiu*—a name taken from the Mongols, showing the Mongol plural affix *-ut* added to the Turki national name *Türk*), the *Zhwan-zhwan* (or *Jouan-Jouan*—a Mongol tribe), then the Mongols (giving to China the Yuan or Mongol dynasty of emperors ruling from 1270 to 1368 A.D.), and finally the *Manchus* (also of Altaic origin, though never so important numerically and and culturally as the Turks and the Mongols, from 1644 to 1912—the Ching Dynasty of emperors in China—the Manchus became entirely Chinese in speech and culture. but sought to keep up a study of their language if only for religious purposes).

The Turks and their immediate brothers the

Mongols* have moved a great deal from their original homes. The oldest homeland of the Mongols was along the eastern valley of the Amur River, to the east of Lake Baikal, at first rather a restricted area of territory. The Turkish Altaics, unquestionably much more advanced and better organised, were in possession of a vaster terrain. The whole of what is now a land of the Mongols—the Republic of (Outer) Mongolia, and Inner Mongolia which is now under Chinese control—particularly the valley of the Orkhon River and the extensive country to the West and South of Mongolia, including present-day West Siberia, Chinese Turkistan (Sin-kiang) and the Turki-speaking Soviet States of Kazakhistan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan and Kirgizistan,—formed the vast homeland of the Turki Altaics. Of course in the West, in the valleys of Oxus and Jaxartes—Amu Darya and Syr Darya — side by side with the Turks lived the Indo-European or Aryan Scythians, and in the Tarim Valley in Sin-kiang and in Kan-su lived the Kuchians and Qarasharians (Tokharians, or Yue-chi), before these Indo-Europeans were finally absorbed by the Turks and lost their speech by 1000 A. D.

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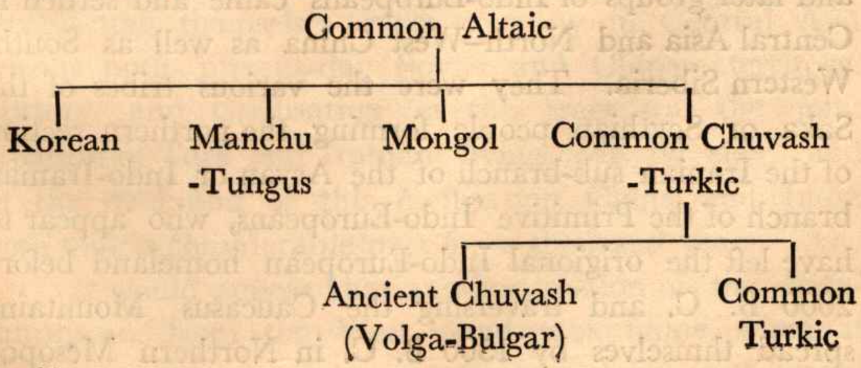
*N. Poppé has proposed the following relationship among the Altaic speeches (*Word*, April 1950, p. 96) :



The first millennium A. D. was a period of ferment among the peoples of Asia to to the North of the Himalayas and the Hindu Kush. In South Siberia, in Mongolia, in Manchuria, in North China, in Central Asia to the West of China, in Tibet, were living and moving about, in hostile as well as friendly contact with each other, the two great branches of the Altaic people–the Turks and the Mongols, who appear to have differentiated themselves from each other over 2000 years ago, and the third branch of the Altaics, the Tungus and Manchus, were already there, not yet prominent culturally and politically. The nomadic Turko-Mongols had started their conflict with the sedentary Chinese some centuries earlier, with varying fortunes–some times with victory through military power and weight of numbers, but mostly it was in the long run a cultural submission to and gradual assimilation with China when they settled down among the highly civilised Chinese people. Strong Chinese influence also reached them all through the centuries. As said before, apart from the Primitive Indo-Europeans living mostly in the South Russian steppes to the North of the Caucasus Mountains and the Black Sea, who were the oldest neighbours of the Altaics to their West, two other and later groups of Indo-Europeans came and settled in Central Asia and North–West China as well as South-Western Siberia. They were the various tribes of the Saka or Scythian people forming the northern section of the Iranian sub-branch of the Aryan or Indo-Iranian branch of the Primitive Indo-Europeans, who appear to have left the origional Indo-European homeland before 2000 B. C. and traversing the Caucasus Mountains spread thmselves by 1500 B. C. in Northern Mesopo-

tamia, and then by 1000 B. C. into Iran, and possibly a few centuries earlier into India. The northern section of the Iranians, the Sakas, as a sort of a recial back-wash, found themselves once again in the northlands (as compared with their brother Aryans–Iranians and Indians–in the South), in Central Asia in the valleys of the Oxus and the Jaxartes and even as high up as the upper Yenisei Valley, and in Russia to the North of the Black Sea. This was before 600 B. C., and the Scythains later came under profound Greek influence in the West in the 5th century B. C. and later. These Sakas, as said before, built up with elements from the native art of the Altaics (with influences these Altaics derived from their South-Eastern neighbours the Chinese) the remarkable style of animal paintings in leather and textile. A great artistic school or tradition was created in South Russia, Siberia, Central Asia which was the joint creation of the Indo-European Scythians and the Mongoloid Altaics. This art passed in later centuries through the Slavs and Balts and Germans to the Celts in the West, reaching as far West and North as Ireland and Scandinavia. During the early centuries after Christ, the Sakas and their other Iranian relatives came in close touch with the Altaics (Turks) who were establishing themselses more securely in Central Asia within both present-day Soviet and Chinese territory. History and Civilisation in this tract was the joint creation of Turk and Iranian living side by side, and in the evolution of this civilisation China and India both took a considerable part for a thousand years.

It would appear that another section of the Indo-Europeans from the West found their home, when, it is not possible to know, in Central Asia, in Chinese

Turkistan (Sin-Kiang) to the North of the Tarim River, extending as far East as the fertile valleys of the present-day Chinese province of Kan-su. These Indo-Europeans in their language had points of agreement with the *Centum-speaking* Western Indo-Europeans—the Hellenes, the Celts and the Italians, as well as the Germans—and not with their nearest kinsmen and neighbours the Iranians (Scythians or Sakas, Soghdians and others) who are members of the *Satem-speaking* division of the Indo-Europeans. These Central Asian Indo-Europeans are known, as said before under various names, like *Tuṣāra* or *Tukhāra,* like *Ṛṣīka* as in Sanskrit, like *Yue-chi* as in Chinese (which is the Modern Chinese pronunciation of what was in old Chinese **Nguet* (or *Nguer*)-*shik*, which looks like a Chinese modification of the name *Ṛṣīka*, and **Nguer-shik* gave a Chinese phrase meaning "the Family or Dynasty of the Moon", a sort of a *Candra-vaṁśa*)). Another tribe allied to these *Yue-chi* was named by the Chinese as *Wu-sun.* One of the chief centres or towns of the *Yue-chi* or *Ṛṣīka* or *Tukhāra* people was Kuca. This was evidently originally the name of a tribe, if not of the most important tribe of the *Yue-chi. Kuca* had a variant *Kuśa,* and a mysterious *Kuśa* people are found in the Near East and in India. There is the form *Kuṣāṇa* (for *Kuśāna*) meaning belong to *Kuṣa* or *Kuśa* = Kuca (a genetive plural form of *Kuśa* or *Kuca*) which became a tribal name. Later on when the *Yue-chi* or the Tokharians passed into Turkestan under pressure of the *Hūṇas* (the *Hiong-nu*), and were settled there, they got mixed with the earlier Sakas or Scythians who were living there, and then under further pressure from the Altaic Huns or Turks, they went further to the South and formed a great state comprisng Eastern Iran,

Afghanistan and North-Western India, which was the Kushan Empire. They were living peacefully in their own areas in Central Asia before they came in connexion with the Turki Altaics.

The home of the Mongol section of the Altaics was in the northern bend, like a hump, of the Kerulen-Argun-Amur River just to the East of Lake Baikal in South-Eastern Siberia, to the North of the Khinyan-Range in Chinese Inner Mongolia and Manchuria (North of the city of Tsitsihar—bound in the West by the tributaries of the Amur like the Shilka, the Kerulen, the Argun, the Onon and in the East by the Nun and the Sungari). In later centuries the Mongols expanded, and their tribes like the Khalkhas, the Buriats, the Kalmyks, and others, spread over a vast area from Manchuria in the East to the Volga river and the Russian steppes ; and in this expansion, they had naturally absorbed and Mongolised a number of small allied tribes.

The Turki branch came into prominence first, during practically the whole of the 1st millennium A. D.; and the early centuries of the 2nd millennium A. D. saw the great days of the Mongols, the Turks continuing their expansion even after the Mongols. The thousand years, from 500 to 1500 A. D., was roughly the period for Altaic expansion and conquest, and the Turks and Mongols changed the face of Asia as a puissant people who formed the *Herrenvolk* for centuries among other civilised peoples, like the Chinese on the one hand and the Iranians, Indians, Greeks and Arabs, besides Slavs and some Latins, on the other. The Altaics

in this way formed noteworthy rivals of the Indo-Europeans, whose great period of expansion however started much earlier, roughly from 2500 B. C. and continued down to the 19th century A. D., when they brought practically the entire world under their political or economic and cultural domination, and went a long way in welding the entire mass of humanity in Europe and Asia, Africa and the two Americas, and Australasia into a single cultural mould in material civilisation as well as in a common intellectual life.

The first Altaic people to leave their mark on civilised lands of Asia and Europe were the Huns, from what is now Mongolia, and the Turkic tribes are their descendants. They were known first to the Chinese as the **Xiwong-Nuo*, which in a simplified form became **Khyun-nu* and **Hiun-nu* or *Hun-nu, and these old forms are the sources of the Greek and Latin forms like *Chunos*, *Funos*, *Unnos* and *Hunnus* (Latin plural *Hunni*) and a Sanskrit form like *Hūṇa*. We do not know the meaning of the name. The movements and fortunes of this Turki-speaking Altaics forms a complicated story, and this has been narrated in works, like René Grousset's *Histoira de l'Extreme-Orient* in 2 volumes (Paris, Paul Geuthner, 1929) and *Empire des Steppes* (Paris, Payot, 1939) ; and a good résumé from the Indian point of view will be found in Prabodh Chandra Bagchi's *India and Central Asia* (Calcutta, Jadavpur University, 1955). The Turks built a succession of noteworthy empires and states, and the Hunnic tribes went out to the West under Attila (died 404 A. D.) and became a conquering and destroying force in the Roman empire. They ruled over Northern China under their **Tab-gac*, or * *Tab-ghac*

or *Toba or Topa* (*Wei* dynasty) rulers during the 5th-6th centuries A. D. Their king Kultegin established a strong kingdom after ridding themselves from Chinese control during the 1st half of the 8th century A. D., and Kultegin left a number of stone stelae with inscriptions in Old Turki carved in a special alphabet of its own, the Turki Runic alphabet, which in its simplicity and beauty stands worthily beside the Old Phoenecian, Old Greek, Latin, Indo-Brahmi and Germanic Runic scripts. These Orkhon inscriptions of the Turki kings of early 8th century form the oldest specimens of an Altaic tongue, and they give a fine expression to the epic spirit of early Turki history, besides allowing us an insight into the personality of the King who inspired the inscription, as much as the Inscriptions of Rameses the Great, of Cyrus the Great, of Darius, of Asoka, of Rama Gamhaeng of Siam (c.1290) tell us about the character, the aims and ideals of these ancient rulers of men.

The Turks, while creating history for Central Asia and the Far East, came in close touch with diverse peoples ; and through adventuresome merchants, teachers and missionaries from different nations of the time visiting them, they enlarged their mental horizon which was at first circumscribed by their old Shamanistic religion, and took over the teachings and ideals of Buddha, Zoroaster, Christ and Mani, and finally of Muhammad.

The South-Western areas of the original Altaic world, in the valleys of the Amu (Oxus) and Syr (Jaxartes) Rivers, the tract known to Latin writers as *Transoxiana*, now the home of a number of Turki-speaking peoples of the Soviet Union, formed one of the most important

meeting grounds of peoples and cultures during the first millennium A. D. Here lived Iranian (Scythian) and Tokharian Indo-Europeans side by side with Turkish Altaics ; here under the long arm of Achaemenian rule Iranian civilisation found a new home among both settled Iranians and Scythians. Here too the Iranian speech took a number of new dialectal forms among the various tribes which spoke it—Persian proper (as in Soviet Tajikistan of the present day), and then Soghdian, and the Saka or East Iranian speech of the Khotan area ; besides Tokharian ; and Turkish dialects (Uigur or what later became Eastern Turki). Syrian-speaking traders from the Western Asian provinces of the Achaemenian empire, from the Seleucid Greek Empire of Syria, and after Rome had conquered Western Asia, from the empire of Rome (which in distant China during the great days of the empire came to the known as **Fu-rim*, now *Fu-lin*—the Latin name *Roma* was transformed in this way—*Roma*, Greek *Rhōmē*, Syriac**Frūmī* **Frūm*, **Fū-rim*, then *Fu-lin*), who were largely Christians, passed through Transoxiana as far as interior China and introduced Nestorian Christianity in Central Asia among some of the Turks and among the Chinese themselves, and left inscriptions in Syriac and Chinese), formed a great link through trade between China and the West. Indian merchants from the Panjab and Sindh were in the habit of visiting places within the empire of the Persians, and they also penetrated into Central Asia and Turkistan (Sin-kiang). Brahmans and Buddhist Monks came in the wake of the Indian merchants—an exiled prince from India as early as the 3rd century B. C. is believed to have founded the city and kingdom of

Kustana or Khotan among the local Iranians, and to have established on sure foundations the Buddhistic religion and Indian culture there. This connexion between India and Central Asia as well as Iran and Western Asia (Iraq etc.) through both Indian merchants from Panjab and Sindh and through Indian mendicants and *sādhus* or Hindu religious men continued down to the 20th century A. D., throughout the medieval period. Then, during Sasanian times came Zoroastrian priests, and also preachers and followers of the composite religion—a mixture of Zoroastranism and Christianity with elements from Buddhism and the old Babylonian religion—founded by the Persian prophet Mani (c. 216-276 A.D). Zoroastrianism was the religion of the Persians in Transoxiana before their conversion to Islam, and the religion of Mani spread among the Iranians and the Tukharas, and from them, it passed on to the Turks also. Thus the Turks found themselves face to face with several religions. First, there was their own national religion, the old Altaic Shamanism centering round the worship of *Kök Tängri* or the *Sky-God* or *Heaven-God.* The religion had individual wizards or priests who were supposed to declare the will of *Tängri*, but no organised priesthood; and a priest who showed that he was ambitious and interfered with the affairs of the state for his own aggrandisement and power was put out of the way by the people to whom he gave offence, as we see from the fate of Kokocu Tab-tangri, son of Chinggiz's father's trusted servant Munlik, the wizard-priest in the Mongol court later on under Chinggiz Khan. The Mongols however believed in the guardian deities (*sulde*) who looked after both individuals and peoples. Chinese

religion had some points in common with Altaic religion, and in some matters both primitive Chinese religion (with its notion of Tao, or the Way, the duality in the universe of Yang and Yin) and pre-Buddhistic Bon religion of the Tibetans may have influenced the Altaic people. Chinggiz had an intelligent man's interest in all religions, Taoism and Buddhism, but he himself had some sort of faith in his ancestral religion, and he wanted to organise it properly. He appointed, as *Baiki* or *Beki* (or Chief priest and Sooth-Sayer of the State, reviving in an old title in a new sense), an old man called Usun, the oldest member of the senior clan of the ruling family.

But the higher philosophy of India through Mahāyāna Buddhism would seem to have influenced the Altaic people most profoundly, along with pageantry of popular Buddhism. The formal acceptance of Buddhism by the highly civilised people of China from the first century A.D., according to Chinese tradition, obtaining this religion from India by way of Transoxiana or Eastern Turkistan, and the enthusiasm of a large section of the intellectual elite of China for Buddhism, gave it a very great impetus throughout the whole of Eastern and Central Asia and among all the various peoples dwelling there. One may mention in this connexion how the Altaic mind and sensibility of the Turkis reacted to the philosophic and aesthetic aspects of Buddhism in creating among the Chinese in North China, under the sponsorship of the nomadic Turki rulers of the Wei or To-ba (*Tabgračʸ) dynasty, a school of Buddhist religious sculpture in stone and bronze, and specially the grottos and statues at Yun-kang in Northern China, which in its spiritual quality and aesthetic beauty is one of the finest and

most inspiring things in art created by man anywhere on earth.

As a matter of fact, the first millennium B. C. and the first millennium A.D. found the period of greatest glory for the composite Hindu people of India, arising out of the racial and cultural fusion of the Austric (Munda or Kol and Mon-Khmer), Dravidian, Mongoloid and Aryan (Indo-European), which started before 1000 B.C. What India found for herself through the thought and spiritual attainments of her Sages and Saints—her Brahmans and Rishis, her Jinas and Buddhas, her scholars, teachers and masters, Ācāryas, Gurus and Paṇḍitas, passed out of India as a culture drift with her Brahmans and Bhikkhus who followed in the wake of her merchants and adventuring wanderers. The ideals of India—her *Weltanschauung*, her way of thought and way of life, her *Bhārata-dharma* or Indianism, was found acceptable by most peoples, who adopted them and modified or extended them according to their needs and their national genius. A great expansion of Indianism took place in this way, and practically the whole of Asia was brought within the orbit of a common spiritual ideal and quest, which was that of Brahmanical Vedānta and Yoga and of Buddhism (both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna, the latter having a close philosophical agreement with the Vedānta). India had completed her culture and had found herself, so to say, for herself and for the service of humanity. And in this process, the first millennium after Christ saw India in her great role as a civilising and humanising force. : "India the Civiliser"—*L'Inde Civilisatrice*, as René Grousset, the great historian of the Culture of Asia has characterised her. India's service or contribu-

tion to humanity was in bringing her own gentleness of spirit, her tolerance, her sense of sacredness of all life and her high seriousness in going to fundamentals of existence. It did not impose any restriction upon the great qualities and achievements of all the various peoples India came in contact within their own lands—the various Iranians, the Tokharians, the Chinese, the Altaic Turks and Mongols and Manchus and others, the Koreans and the Japanese, the peoples of Indo-China (Mons and Khmers, and Pyus, Burmese and Siamese), the Malays, Javanese, Balinese and other Indonesians—all of whom gave new contents and added beauties to the basic things they received from India.

In spite of warfare and racial and tribal dislocations, Buddhism made steady progress, and the philosophy and science as well as the literature, arts and crafts of India brought in a very potent intellectual, artistic and spiritual leaven for all the peoples of Asia from Japan to Eastern Europe and from Siberia to Indonesia. The Altaic Turks got their Buddhism from both the Iranians of Transoxiana and the Tokharians (Yue-chi) of Eastern Turkistan, particularly from the Tokharians, who, like the Sakas of Khotan, were quite advanced in Buddhistic religion and studies in their cities of Aqsu (in Sanskrit Bharuka = Bālukā), of Kuci or Kuca and of Agni (later Qarashahr) on the northern bank of the Tarim River. The Uigur Turks of this area, with their strong admixture with the Indo-European Tokharians, became the most advanced among the Turks. They had already conquered some of their kinsmen who had come to prominence earlier, notably the Turks of the Orkhon Valley, among whom a Turkish national literature for

the first time name into existence in the epic inscription of the Turkish king Kul-tegin, written in the Turkish national Runic script. The Uigurs came to be largely under the influence of the Manichaean religion from Iran, and then again of Nestorian Christianity, and finally Buddhism mainly from their contact with the Tokharians. Their Manichaean religion as well as Buddhism came through the Soghdian Iranians. In their Buddhism, however, they would appear to be first influenced by the Chinese. In later times, they were of course much influenced by Sanskrit, as well as Soghdian. But judging from some common terms of Buddhism in Old Turki, it will be clear that the extent of Chinese Buddhist influence on Old Turki life in Central Asia was quite remarkable. Thus to give a few of these Buddhist terms in Old Turki taken over from the Chinese of the middle of the 1st millennium A.D. :

(1) *Bur-xān*='Buddha' (a word which later came to India with the Muslim Turks after 1200 A.D.—as in the name of the city of *Burhān-pur,* where *Burhān* was a Turki personal name which continued as an inheritance from pre-Muslim times), The word *Bur-xan* consists of two elements: T'ang Chinese **But* or **Bur*='Buddha' (from Old Chinese modifications of the Indian word *Buddha* as **Bhywat,* **Bhyut,* **Byut* etc., in Modern Chinese *Fu* in Peking, *Fwat* in Canton, and borrowed into Korean as *But,* into Old Japanese as *Butu* (which has become in Modern Japanese *Butsu* or *Buts*), into Old Burmese as *Bhurāḥ*, now pronounced in standard Burmese as *Phayā* and in Diaectal Arakan Burmese as *Pharā*): the Turks added to the Chinese form *Bur* their own word *Xān*=*Khān*, 'King, Prince'; *Bur-Xān*='Buddha the King'

:cf. Tibetan *Sangs-rgyal*, now pronounced *Seng-je*='Buddha', literally 'Wise King'.

(2) *Wap*=T'ang Chinese, **Wap*, Modern Chinese *Fo*='Dharma', 'Law'.

(3) *Sań* (*Sang*)='Sangha', also taken from Chinese.

(4) *Bursang* (*Bursong*)=Old Chinese **Bhywat-sang*= '*Buddha* and *Sangha*, the Buddhist Sangha'.

(5) *Pusar* = 'Bodhi-sattva', from Old Chinese **Bhuo-sat*, **Puo-sar*, whence Old Japanese *Bosatu*, Modern Japanese *Bosatsu*.

(6) *Baxsi*='Teacher, Master', compare Old Chinese **Pak-śi*, Modern *Po-shi* : also suggested as being a Turki modification of the Sanskrit *bhikṣu*='monk'.

(7) *Quansiin*='Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva', from Chinese *Kuan-shi-yin* or *Kuan-yin*.

(8) *Sawśing*, *Siośing*='Hīna-yāna', Chinese *Siao-cheng*.

The Uigurs derived what became their own special system of writing from the Soghdians, and this Soghdian writing for an Iranian language was based upon the Syrian script which Syrian merchants brought to Iran and it became established as a most convenient form of writing in Iran, the Old Persian Cuneiform script making place for it. In Central Asia, among the Altaics, the Syrian-Soghdian-Uigur script became widely current. The Old Turki Runic script was used in inscriptions as in Orkhon and along the Yenisei river in the 7th and 8th centuries and it was used in writing manuscripts also which were of Manichaean inspiration. The Turkish Runic script gradually fell out of use, although a modification of it was current among some Turki tribes who were settled in

Europe, right down to the 15th century. Apart from these two scripts, the Runic and the Uigur, the Turks in Central Asia, particularly those who were in touch with with the Tokharians and the Khotan Sakas, wrote their language also in the Indian Brāhmī script which was brought to them with Buddhism and with Sanskrit. From the 9th century, Uigur Buddhists used Brāhmī not only for studying Sanskrit, like other Central Asian peoples, and the Chinese, Koreans and the Japanese, but they also had a number of Mss. in Brāhmī of translations into Turki of Buddhist texts made mostly from the Tokharian. The Mongols had no script of their own, and Chinggiz Khan (1155-1227), for having a seal made for him, employed a literate Uigur prisoner for writing and cutting a seal for him in a piece of green jade in the Chinese manner, which probably formed the first piece of official or formal Mongol writing. (This seal of Chinggiz, c. 1206, which was in Mongol in Uigur script, ran like this : 'God in Heavens. The Khagan, the Power of God on Earth. The Seal of the Emperor of Mankind'). The art of writing thus came to the other great branch of the Altaics, the Mongols, from their Turk brothers. Chinggiz gave a great impetus to this newly acquired cultural device of a Mongol alphabet, and started getting written down some of the *Yasag* or Common Law and Customs of the Mongols as well as his *Biliks* or Sayings or Oral Orders, and this had a very great political and administrative value. The Mongol script, a slightly variant form of Uigur, became established; and with the adoption of Tibetan or Lama Buddhism, through the missionary zeal of the Tibetan teacher and scholar Ḥphags-pa (erudite in Tibetan, Mongol and Sans-

krit), under Kubilai Khan when he was ruling over China, Mongolia and Tibet, this Mongol alphabet of ultimate Syrian origin became a great help in creating a Mongol literature, both a national literature of songs and ballads and chronicles and a learned and sacred literature of Tibetan and ultimately Sanskrit inspiration. A flourishing Turki literature first grew up, from the 7th century onwards, mainly in the Uigur script, and some noteworthy pieces of original composition came into being, like the *Qudatqu Bilik* and the *Oguz-nameh.* But after the Central Asian Turks were conquered by the Arabs under Ibu Qutaiba about 786 A.D., and Islam began to spread among them, they gradually abandoned their own scripts, associated as these were with Buddhism, Manichaeanism and Nestorian Christianity, and took over the Arabic script, emulating the example of their close neighbours and teachers the Iranians who after the Arab conquest left the Old Avestan and Pahlavi scripts to the priests of Zoroastrian religion, and adopted an extended Arabic script. The Mongols unlike the Turks have remained true to their Lamaic Buddhism and they have kept up their old script, and Hphags-pa (his Sanskrit name was Ārya Matidhvaja Śrībhadra) even tried to build up an ornate system of writing in 1269 (but it did not become popular)—the *Durbaljin,* based on the Tibetan. (Tibetan had become the language of religion and ritual, of science and philosophy, with the Mongols, and Sanskrit influences reacted Mongol through Tibetan). During the last few years, the Mongols within the orbit of Russian (Soviet) influence, have changed their old script into the Cyrillic, both in Mongolia (or Outer Mongolia) and among the various Mongol tribes living within the Soviet

Union, just as the Turks in the Soviet Union have done (the Azerbaijanis, the Turkmans, the Uzbeks, the Kirghiz, the Kazakhs, the Bashkirs and others). The Western Turks—the Azeris, the Seljuks and Osmanlis of Ankara and Istanbul—have also under the lead of Mustafa Kemal Ata-Turk similarly abandoned their old Arabic script for the Roman or Latin Alphabet.

The Altaics thus used whatever script came handy to them. They even employed the Chinese script, with its pictograms, ideograms and phonograms, to write their language, although it was a most inconvenient medium. The oldest book in Mongol, the *Mongol-un nigucha Tobchiyan* or 'the Secret History of the Mongols', was composed by 1240 A. D. and it was a biography of Chinggiz Khan and the history of the rise of the Mongol power. It is based on old songs and ballads, at least in part, and has quite a direct and primitive epic character. But the transcript of this fairly large work in Chinese characters, because of the unsuitability of Chinese writing for indicating properly the sounds of any language, was almost impossible to make out in the original Mongol speech, and scholars had to fall back upon a Chinese translation of this great Mongol classic in Chinese transcript, before Paul Pelliot with his profound erudition could restore the Chinese transcription with the original Mongol, which was published after his death in 1949, with partial translation in French.

While these tremendous cultural and political changes were taking place among the Altaics in Central and Eastern Asia, and they were coming out of their isolation into the hub of Asian affairs, they started their *dig-vijaya,*

their world-conquest and expansion, in the course of which they extended widely the area of their permanent occupation throughout the greater part of Asia and Europe. The Turks and the Mongols in this process were both passive receivers and active givers. They received culture and civilisation, and they gave organisation and strong government, and helped international contacts.

The Altaics, *both the Turks and the Mongols,* somehow developed a genius for Government, particularly in foreign lands they conquered. Their freedom from narrow religious inhibitions, and their great common sense, were their great helps in this In this matter, they can be very well compared with their Indo-Europeans neighbours, who, however, had the advantage of being earlier in the field, and had highly civilised peoples as their teachers and models. In conquest, the Altaics were swift and cruel, but before Islam hardened their mental flexibility, they were not religiously fanatical, but tried to be just and straightforward. In later times, Turkish rule in Europe, outside of certain limits, was always fair and equitable to the Christians. *Jawr al-Turk, walā 'adl al-'Arab*—'better the tyranny of the Turk, rather than the justice of the Arab' —so goes an Arab proverb from Syria. The Moguls of India (Mughals, i.e. Turks whose ancestors were of Mongol origin) gave to India a fairly good system of government which endured for more than three centuries. Akbar (1542-1605), a Turko-Mongol from his father's side and Persian from that of his mother, was one of the greatest rulers of mankind. The Mongol empire was established by Chinggiz Khan (1155-1227): he was a ruthless conqueror, absolutely merciless and

without scruples in war, but he in his primitive way, actuated by his innate Shamanistic good sense and sense of fairplay, promulgated and enforced through the machinery of his administration his Laws—the *Yasag* or Customary Laws of the Mongols and the *Bilik* or Sayings and Orders of himself, and these took some decades to grow and develop. On the basis of the *Yasag* and the *Bilik*, the vast empire of Chinggiz and his descendants, extending from the Pacific Ocean to the Baltic Sea, and the Persian Gulf, was held together as it was scrupulously adhered to, for over two centuries and a half, gradually giving place (outside of the Buddhist Mongol tracts, among Turks and others) to Muslim law and usage. But when it was operative, and the Mongols had their political unity and their military strength, it gave to the almost entire world of Siberian Central Asia, Russia, China and Iran a veritable *Pax Cingiscanica* or *Pax Mongolica*, comparable to the *Pax Persica* of the Achaemenian emperors, the *Pax Romanica*, and in the 19th and 20th centuries and *Pax Britannica*, as a great unifying force among nations, ensuring them some sort of sure protection and justice and peace.

One might say, the third phase of Hindu-Turk contacts and relations began during this period, and it was in the above two ways, in Central Asia in the first instance, and then almost alongside of that in India. Indian Buddhist teachers and scholars began to visit Central Asian peoples and the Chinese from the 1st century A. D. onwards, and after that the Koreans and the Japanese from the middle of the 7th century A. D. They came with the message of Buddha and of the sages of India for high thinking, seeking to delve into the

mystery of being, and for the good life; and they were welcomed by these peoples of Central Asia and China, both simple people who had spiritual hunger, and sophisticated or highly advanced peoples who wanted to know. Hindus were welcomed by the Turks, and other Central Asian peoples as honoured teachers, who had no meaterial or political axe to grind, who brought knowledge and faith, and who in most cases made the countries and the people they came to their very own by settling down among them and laying their bones in the land of their adoption. The Turks and others (including the Mongols in later times) were actuated by a spirit of reverence and humility towards their Hindu teachers and also for the Hindu people of India who brought so much for them in the domains of the intellect and the spirit and also in the arts and crafts and material civilisation. An idealisation of India as the land of the Buddhas and the Brāhmaṇas, whose people were actuated by plain living and high thinking, characterised the attitude of the Central Asian and other peoples. The Mongols learned from the Tibetans to hold the country and the people of India—*Rgya-gar* or *Jagar* as they called India, in highest respect. India the land of Buddha and the Brāhmaṇas, *Fo-Kuo* and *Fan-Kuo* (**Bhyuwat-Kwok* and **Bhywam-Kwok*, in Old Chinese) was a veritable kingdom of Heaven—*Thien-Chu* in Chinese, *Ten-jiku* in Japanese (**Thien-dyuk* in Old Chinese, a modification of the geographical name **Sin-duk* i.e. *Sindhuka-deśa*). This attitude of the Turks and other Altaic (and other peoples) of Asia towards the Hindus later suffered a complete transformation after the Turks abandoned Buddhism and their old Shamanistic religion and adopted Islam.

The Expansion of the Turko-Mongols to the East, West and South, including India.

The Turks as the Hiung-nu-Hunni or Hūṇas—and then as the Uigurs, pushed beyond the frontiers of their original homeland and established their power in Europe (as the Hunni under Attila) and in Asia, penetrating down into India. Various sections of the Huns and the Ephthalites, or the descendants of Hephtha, one of their powerful heroes, and others began to harass Iran and India under the Sassanian and Gupta emperors. These Huns from Central Asia were much mixed with Sakas and other Iranians, and latterly bore Iranian names like *Mihiragula* (*Mihr-qul* = 'Sun-Flower'). Many of them began to settle down in India from the second half of the 1st millennium A. D. They accepted Brahmanical Hinduism and were transformed into good Hindus. As good fighters who became champions of the Hindu faith, they were accepted as Kshatriyas or members of the Warrior Caste, and they were described as belonging to the *Angi-kula*, or as offspring of the Fire-God, whose ancestors came out of a burning fire-altar to make them at par with the earlier and genuine Kshatriyas of ancient India who were classed as members of the *Sūrya-vaṁśa* and the *Candra-vaṁśa*—the Family of the Sun and the Family of the Moon. The *Gūjars*, the *Khīchīs* and a few other clans among these neo-Kshatriyas of Central Asian Turki or Turko-Iranian origin bear non-Indo-Aryan names, probably to be connected with Turki (Hunnic or Hunnish) clan names.

AN ETYMOLOGICAL NOTE ON THE WORD ŚMAN!

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The word' *śman*' often occurs in the Vedas with the components of *-śā*, *-śāna*, *-śayana* and *-śru* forming the compounds such as *śmaśā śmaśāna*, *śmaśayana*, *śmaśru* etc. These derivative words of *śman* have been differently interpreted by different scholars. An attempt has been made therefore in this paper to discuss the exact etymological meanings of *śman* as attested by the Vedic texts. For our discussion here, we have selected only three words, viz., *śmaśā*, *śmaśāna*, and *śmaśru*.

In ṚV. X. 105. 1 : '*Kadā vaso stotraṁ haryata āva śmaśā rudhad vāḥ/dīrghaṁ sutaṁ vātapyāya//*, Veṅkaṭa Mādhava, on the authority of Yāska takes *śmaśā* to mean wind[1], and says that the wind is so called because it pervades the space quickly. But it may be seen from the text which he quotes that he has taken no notice of the derivation of *śmaśā*[2] $<$ *śma* $+ \sqrt{}$*aś* as given by Yāska. Moreover, the text referring to the meaning of *śmaśā* as wind, which he quotes in the name of Yāska, is not found in the *Nirukta*, that is available to us to-day.

1. कदा वासयित : ! इन्द्र तव स्तुतिं कामयमानाय मर्त्य' श्मशा वायु : उदकम् अव रुणद्धि दिवः। दीर्घंकालमिदं सुतं भवति उदकाय क्रियमाणमिति। 'शु अश्नुत इति श्मशा वायुः' इति यास्कः (तु० निरु०५.१२)। तथा वाताप्यम् उदकं भवति। वात एतदाप्याययति (निरु.६.२८)।
Veṅkaṭa. on ṚV. X 105.1
2. श्मशा शु अश्नुत इति वा श्माश्नुते इति वा। *Nir*. 5.12

Skandasvāmin takes *śmaśā* as a word of unknown derivation having many meanings. He, however, points out two meanings of *śmaśā*,[3] : canal or river. According to him, *śmaśā* is *śmāśinī* which is derived from *śma* (=body) + √*aś*, 'to pervade'. But he does not give reason as to why a canal or a river is called *śmaśā*. *Śma* meaning body has nothing to do with a canal or a river. While interpreting ṚV. X. 105.1, in the *Nirukta*, he says that the veins of the body also are called *śmaśā*,[4] because they carry the essence of food consumed to one's body. Here he seems to have taken no notice of Yāska's derivation of *śmaśā* from *śu* + √*aś*.

Durgācārya, while accepting the derivations of *śmaśā* as given by Yāska, regards *śmaśā* as identical to *śvāśinī* or *śmāśinī*.[5] The former, he derives from *śu* + √*aś* meaning a canal or a river,[6] and he adds that it is so called because it quickly pervades or irrigates the fields. The latter, he derives from *śma* (=body) + √*aś* meaning the veins (=nāḍī) of the body.[7]

Further, Durgācārya also takes *śmaśā* to mean mystic vein of spiritual power centred in one's own body (-*ādhyātmikī nāḍī*-) *Nir.* 5.12). So far as the second derivation is concerned, both Skandasvāmin and Durgācārya agree. They both take *śmaśā* as a word of unknown derivation and also having many meanings.[8]

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3. श्मशेत्यनवगतमनेकार्थं च । श्म शरीरं तस्य व्यापिनी श्माशिनीत्यवगम : । कुल्या नदी वाभिधेया । Skandasvāmin on *Nir.* 5.12
4. श्मशेव कुल्येव उदकानि । नाडीव वा शरीरी अन्नपानरसम् ! Ibid
5. 'श्वासिनी' इत्यवगम : श्माशिनीति वा । Durga. on *Nir* 5.12
6. श्वाशिनी शीघ्राशिनी शीघ्रव्यापिनी कुल्या नदी वा । Ibid
7. श्माशिनी पुनर्नाडी । सा हि श्म शरीरं व्याप्नोति । Ibid
8. श्मशेत्यनवगतमनेकार्थं च । Skanda. ; श्मशा इत्यनवगतम्......... एवमेतद् इह विगृह्यमाणम् अनेकार्थम् अपि भवत्येव । Durga.

They, however, differ with regard to the derivation of *śmaśā* meaning canal or river, and vein. Skandasvāmin derives *śmaśā* meaning both canal or river and vein from *śma*+√*aś*, while Durgācārya derives differently : *śmaśā* meaning canal or river from *śu*+ √*as*, and *śmaśā* meaning vein from *śma* + √*aś*. May be, Durgācārya thought that *śma*, taken to mean body, has no relevence to the meaning of canal or river and hence he cited the derivation from *su* (=quick) +√*aś* which would imply river or canal.

Sāyaṇa, following Skandasvāmin and Durgācārya, takes *śmaśā* to mean a canal and accordingly he derives it from √*aś* 'to pervade.'[9] He has conveniently interpreted *śma*-as *kṣetra* here which means both field and body, so that it should be applicable in both the contexts to mean canal or vein.

While some of the Westren scholars like Wilson and others have followed Indian commentators, some others have struck altogether a different note in this connection. In his *Wörterbuch*, Grassmann takes *śmaśā* to mean the elevated ridge or basin or grave. In this sense Monier Williams conjectures it to be, probably, connected with *aśman* (=stone) and interprets it as the elevated ridge or edge of a trench or ditch, or channel for water or of a vessel. He takes *śmaśā*, *śmaśāna* and *smaśayana* as identical in meaning. - *śa*, *-śāna*, and *-śayana*, most probably, according to him, are derived from one common root: √*śī* 'to sleep' ! In both *śmaśā* and *śmaśāna* he takes *śma* as somewhat connected with *aśman*. According to him, *śmaśā*, *śmaśāna* and *śmaśayana* actually come from *aśmaśā*, *aśmaśāna* and *aśmaśayana* respectively, meaning an elevated

9. अश्नुते क्षेत्रमिति श्मशा कुल्या । Sāyaṇa on ṚV. X.105.1

place for burning the dead bodies,—a crematorium or a burial place for committing the bones of cremated corpses.

Geldner, while translating ṚV. X. 105.1, takes *śmaśā* to mean 'Beard' assuming *śmaśā* to have formed from *śmaśāru* by haplology. Further, he feels that *-śmaśāru* in *hariśmaśāruḥ* (ṚV. I. 96.8) and *śmaśruḥ* in *hiriśmaśruḥ* (ṚV. V.7.7) are two different forms of the same word. In his 'Ṛgveda Noten,' Oldenberg holds the same view. In ṚV. X. 105.1, he reads *'śmaśā rudhad vāḥ'* as *śmaśāru dhad vāḥ*' and translates accordingly: 'Wann möchte das loblied ihm den bart in das (soma) wässer hinabtauchen?'

We come across the etymology of *śmaśā*[10] in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* while the word *śmaśāna* is being explained. *Śmaśā* is said there to mean the deceased ancestors or manes who eat the oblations offered to them. According to the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, *śma* in *śmaśā* is an evolved form of *śava* (=dead body) and the word *śavānna* (*śava* + *anna* 'the oblation given to the deceased ancestors or manes) becomes *śavaśānna* by adding *śa* between *śava-* and *-anna*, further resulting into *śmaśānna*> *śmaśāna* (*śavānna*>*śavaśānna*>*śmaśānna*>*śmaśāna*).[11] Most probably, according to the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* *śmaśā* meaning deceased ancestors, is formed from *śava*>*śma* + *aś* 'to eat'. *Śma* + *aś* = *śmāś* has changed into *śmaśā* by metathesis.

Yāska, however, does not seem to agree with the derivation of *śmaśā* given by the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*.

10. श्मशा उ हैव नाम पितॄणामत्तारः ŚB. 13.8.1.1

11. यो वै कश्च म्रियते स शवस्तस्मा एतदन्नं करोति। तस्माच्छवान्नं ह वै तच्छ्मशान्नमित्याचक्षते परोक्षम् । श्मशा उ हैव नाम पितृणामत्तारस्ते हामुष्मिन् लोकेऽ कृतश्मशानस्य साधुकृत्यामुपदम्भयन्ति तेभ्य एतदन्नं करोति तस्माच्छ्मशान्नं हैव तच्छ्मशान्नमित्याचक्षते परोक्षम् । ŚB. 13.8.1.1

According to him, *śma* is common in *śmaśāna* and *śmaśayana,* and *-śāna* is a short form of *śayana* (*śmaśānam śmaśayanam-* Nir. 3.5). Skandasvāmin suggests that by dropping *y* in *śayana* and subsequent lengthening of *a* in sandhi one gets *śāna.*[12] Siddheshwar Varma however does not agree with this derivation. He says : '*śmaśāna-*' "a place where the dead are disposed", is traced to *śma+śayana-*" lying of the body". But *śāna-* from *śayana* is not phonologically acceptable, for the elision of *y* before *ana* is impossible in old Indo-Aryan'.[13] In his *Vaidika Padānukramakoṣa* Vishva Bandhu takes *śma-* in *śmaśāna* as a form of *śava* as said in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa,* but he derives- *śana* from *√vaś* >*√vas* "to reside". According to him, *vaśanta*>*śanta*> *śāna* is similar to the Persian word *khānaḥ,* house. However, he does not find any connection between *śmaśā* and *śmaśāna,* and he says that *śmaśā* in ṚV.X. 105.1, is actully *vaśvaśā* which is derived from *√vaś* (=*√vac,vāś,* to speak).

The word *smaśru* (ṚV.X. 23.1; 26.7; 142.4), in which *śma-* forms the first component has been rendered as 'beard' by most of the Indian and Western commentators. Monier Williams takes it as a word of unknown derivation, but connects it with *śman.* Yāska, however, takes *śmaśru* to mean hair which grows on the body.[14] He derives *śman* from *√ sṛ* or *√ śam.*[15] According to Durgācārya, however, Yāska does not give the etymology of *śma* here, but he derives *śarīra*[16] from *√śṛ* or *√ śam.* If

12. यकारलोपेन सवर्णदीर्घत्वेन च । Skandasvāmin on *Nir.* 3.5
13. Siddheshwar Varma : *The Etymologies of Yāska,* p. 147
14. श्मश्रु लोम । श्मनि श्रृतं भवति । *Nir.* 3.5
15. श्म शरीरम् । श्रृणातेर्वा शम्नातेर्वा *Ibid.*
16. Durgācārya on *Nir.* 3.5

we accept this veiw of Durgācarya, the question would arise why did Yāska derive *śarīra* in this context, which he has already derived from √ *śṛ* or √ *śam* (Nir. 2.5). It is the well-known practice with Yāska that he never derives the same word again, and when a word once etymologised comes in some other context he expressly says that it has already been dealt with by him (vyākhyātam.) The reason why Durgācarya accepted √ *śṛ* and √ *śam* as referring to *śarīram,* not to *sma,* here seems to be that the text which he had before him was '*śma śarīram/śarīraṁ śṛṇāteḥ śamnāttervā* (Nir.3.5). Durgācārya, was certainly not unaware of the fact that Yāska has already derived this word. Therefore, he gives a new argument for justification of this repetition. According to him, *śarīra* in the previous context was not a real corporeal body, since it is related to Vṛtra which being a cloud is bodyless, whereas, here *śarīra* is a real corporeal body. Hence according to Durgācārya, Yāska thought it proper to give the derivation of *śarīra* again. But the real fact is that in the text commented on by Durgācārya, the second *śarīram* is an interpolation not forming the part of the original text. What Yāska says here is that *śma* means *śarīram* (=body) and it is derived from √ *śṛ* or √ *śam.* Skandasvāmin has correctly explained this by taking *śṛṇāteḥ* and *śamnāteḥ* as referring to *śma,* not to *śarīram.* Siddeshwar Varma, though he has not included the word *śman* in 'The Etymologies of Yāska' while deriving *śmaśā,* points out that *śma* has not been noticed by Yāska for its derivation. It seems that Siddheshwar Varma made this remark relying on the text commented on by Durgācārya. Now it becomes clear that Yāska has given here the derivation of

śma, and not of *śarīram*.[17]

To sum up, we may give below the different meanings or the derivations of *śman* as given by different scholars :—

śman<√*śṛ* or √*śam* (Yāska).
śmaśā<*śma*+√*aś* 'to pervade' (Skandasvāmin).
śmaśā < *śu* + √ *aś* or *śma* +√*aś* (Yāska & Durgācārya).
śmaśā < *śu* + √ *aś* (Veṅkaṭamādhava).
śmaśā<*śava*>*śma* +√*aś* 'to eat' (Śatapatha).
śmaśā < *aśman* (Monier Williams)
śmaśāna<*śava*>*śma*+(*śa*)+*anna* (Śatapatha).
śmaśāna<*śava*+√*vaś*>*vas* 'to reside (Vishva Bandhu)
śmaśā < *śmaśāru* > *śmaśru* (Geldner, Oldenberg)

Now we have four words before us, *śman, śu, śava* and *aśman*, which have been accepted by different scholars as the derivative basis, while deriving or explaining the words, *śmaśā, śmaśāna, śmaśru* and *śmaśāru*. Is there any phonetic or semantical relation among these four derivatives ? If *śman* is the form evolved either from *śu* 'quick' or *śava* 'dead body' or *aśman* 'stone', would it convey its sense? From the above discussion it is clear that *śman* is said to have been related to either *śu, śava* or *aśman* by the commentators. Though, *śman* meaning body has apparently nothing to do with *su*, yet it has been accepted by the commentators as one of the bases of *śman*. Therefore, we have to see how far this interpretation would be acceptable. Most probably, *śu* meaning quick indicates the perishable nature of our body. *Śava* meaning 'dead body' is derived from √ *śav* 'to go'.[18] The body is

17. श्म शरीरं तत् श्रृणातेरर्थपौष्कल्यात् । शम्नातेर्वा यदा कदाचित् शाम्यति हि तत् । Skandasvāmin on *Nir.* 3.5
18. cf. Dhātupāṭha, 725; शवतिर्गतिकर्मा कम्बोजेष्वेव भाष्यते । *Nir.* 3.5

so called because it undergoes decomposition and dissolves itself in course of time after death. Semantically there is no much contradiction in meaning between *śu* and *śava*. The former indicates the quickness of the departure of the soul from the body, while the latter indicates the departure of the soul from the body for ever. Both *śu* & *śava* are phonetically connected: *śu* > *śo* + *a* (by guṇa) > *śav*+*a*. *śu* meaning quick and *śava* meaning departure further support Yāska's derivation of *śma* from √ *śṛ* or √ *śam*. The word *śman* meaning body is derived from √*śṛ* or √*śam*, because it is the body which is destroyed by death.[19] Haplology has played an important role in the formation of *śman* from √*śṛ* or √*śam* (*śṛ*+*man*>*ś-ṛ—man* > *ś—man* > *śman; śam*+*man*>*ś- am-man*> *ś-man*>*śman*.[20]

Monier Williams, on the authority of some lexicon takes *śman* also to mean mouth. According to him, most probably, this meaning has been invented to explain *śmaśru* as beard, especially moustache. This should be taken as secondry meaning, because, primarily, *śman* means only body. *Śmaśru,* primarily meaning hair grown on the body, became prevalant in the sense of beard and again in the sense of moustache. When by usage *śmaśru* became confined to the sense of moustache, another meaning of *śman* was invented. Now it may be possible to derive *śman* in the sense of mouth from √ *aś* to eat √ *aś* +*man*>*ś-man*>*śman*.[21] But its derivation from *aśman* meaning stone is not in accordance with the Indian commentators nor with the texts of the *Ṛgveda*.

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19. .... न हन्यते हन्यमाने शरीरे । *Gītā* 2

20. Vide Rajvade, *Nirukta Notes*.

21. cf. *Atharvaveda* xviii. 4.54.

DIFFERENT THEORIES OF THE NYĀYA-VAIŚEṢIKAS ON THE NUMBER OF QUALITIES (*GUṆA*) IN ĪŚVARA

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The Nyāya-Vaiśeṣikas grouped the qualities of Īśvara under two classes, the general qualities (*sāmānya-guṇa*) and the specific qualities (*viśeṣaguṇa*). General qualities of substance are those qualities which it possesses in common with some other classes of substance than the one to which it belongs ; its specific qualities, on the other hand, are those which are possessed only by the class of substance to which it belongs. This classification of general and specific qualities is found for the first time in the list of diverse classifications of qualities given by Praśastapāda in his *Padārthadharmasaṁgarha*,[1] and hence a classification of the qualities of Īśvara under these two groups cannot be met with in the extant works of authors before him. Moreover, it is but to be expected that the Īśvara doctrine which had been a later addition to the system would take some time before it became fitted into and formulated in concepts as found in the category doctrine of the system.

As far as we know from the extent literature, there was no divergence of opinion among the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣikas as to the number of the general qualities of Īśvara. They ascribed to Him five of them, namely number (*saṁkhyā*), dimension (*parimāṇa*), individuality (*pṛthaktva*), conjunction (*saṁyoga*) and disjunction (*vibhāga*), in fact,

1. *PDS* p. 230, 4 - 231,3

qualities possessed by all substances. Thus Īśvara was conceived of as being one (*eka*), omnipresent (*vibhu*), distinguished from all other substances as an individual (*pṛthak*), and as having conjunction (*saṁyogavat*) and disjunction (*vibhāgavat*).[2] But there was no such agreement as to the number of specific qualities (*viśeṣaguṇa*) in Him. When we examine the Īśvara doctrine of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika authors from Pakṣilasvāmin to Udayana, we can trace at least four main groups of theories concerning the specific qualities of Īśvara, a brief consideration of which forms the subject-matter of this paper.

1. *The view of Pakṣilasvāmin and Praśastapāda* :

It is in his excursus at the close of his commentary on *NS* IV, 1,21 that Pakṣilasvāmin speaks of the qualities of Īśvara. Although he describes the nature of Īśvara in terms of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika doctrine of categories, he makes use also of concepts that are foreign to it. Thus, while expressing the nature of Īśvara as an *Ātmā* endowed with special qualities,[3] he ascribes to Him qualities, some of which are not found among the qualities of the Ātmā as enumerated by the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika school. According to Pakṣilasvāmin there is in Īśvara the absence of the qualities of demerit, erroneous cognition and inattention, as well as the presence, in abundance, of the qualities opposed to these, namely merit, cognition and concentration.[4]

2. Ibid. p. 231,2-3 enumerate, besides the five qualities mentioned above, also *paratva, aparatva, gurutva, naimittika dravatva* and *vega* as *sāmānyaguṇāḥ*, but these are not applicable to Īśvara and hence they are left out of consideration here.

3. *NBH* p. 943,6: *guṇaviśiṣṭam ātmāntaram īśvaraḥ.*

4. Ibid. p. 943,7 : *adharma-mithyājñāna-pramādahānyā dharma-jñāna-samādhisampadā ca viśiṣṭam ātmāntaram īśvaraḥ.*

Moreover, he ascribes to Īśvara, as the fruit of His merit and concentration, the eightfold omnipotence.[5] If we look for the source of these four qualities—merit (*dharma*), cognition (*jñāna*), concentration (*samādhi*) and omnipotence (*aiśvarya*)—we notice that concentration and omnipotence are not mentioned among the qualities of Ātma in the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika doctrine of categories. On the other hand, we find agroup of four qualities—*dharma*, *jñāna*, *virāga* and *aiśvarya*—enumerated in the Sāṁkhyakārikā *Kā*.23 as the Sattvic forms of the Buddhi.[6] Pakṣilasvāmin, however, substitutes for *virāga* (freedom from passion or attachment) the term *samādhi* taken from the Yoga, and thus we get the combination of the four qualities ascribed by him to Īśvara. Other terms such as *pramāda* and *prākāmya* occurring in his short excursus on Īśvara betray influence of Yoga.[7] Hence one is led to conclude that, in his description of the nature and qualities of Īśvara, Pakṣilasvāmin was strongly influenced by Sāṁkhya-Yoga concepts.

The view of Praśastapāda concerning the number of qualities in Īśvara cannot be determined with certanity, since all his works have not come down to us. We know that he exposes a rather developed form of

5. Ibid. p. 944,2 : *tasya ca dharmasamādhiphalam aṇimādy aṣṭavidham aiśvaryam.*

6. Vgl. also Sāṁkhyakārikās 43-45.

7. For the expressions *pramāda* and *prākāmya* see *NBh* p. 943,7 and 944,4 respectively. Both these are found in Yogic texts. *pramāda* is spoken of in Yogasūtra I,30, while *prākāmya* is one of the eight powers of the Yogin mentioned in the *Yogabhāṣya* to Yogasūtras I, 24 and III, 45. The term *samādhi* occurs in so many places of the *Yogasūtra* and *Yogabhāṣya* (see especially the first *Sūtras* and their *Bhāṣya*) that it hardly requires reference.

Īśvara doctrine, but neither in his extant work, the *Padārthadharmasaṁgraha*, nor in the fragments available to us from his lost work(s) do we come across any enumeration of the qualities of Īśvara.[8] Among the fragments from the lost work(s) of Praśastapāda found in the *Tattvasaṁgrahapañjikā* of Kamalaśīla and in the *Sanmatiṭīkā* of Abhayadevasūri are some that prove two qualities of Īśvara, namely omniscience (*sarvajñatva*) and one-ness (*ekatva*). Furthermore, in his account of the dissolution and creation of the universe found in the *Padārthadharmasaṁgraha*, he speaks of the desire (*icchā*) of Īśvara.[9] Hence we know with certainty that Praśastapāda admitted in Īśvara the qualitles of cognition (*jñaña*), desire (*icchā*) and number (*saṁkhyā*) found in the list of the qualities ascribed to Him by later writers. Although he does not speak of the volition (*prayatna*) of Īśvara, it seems to me that it was implied in his notions of the *icchā* and *abhidhyāna* of Īśvara.[10] When one goes through the systematic classification of qualities found in his *Padārthadharmasaṁgraha*, one is led to assume that, besides number, Praśastapāda must have ascribed to Īśvara also the other four general qualities of dimension, individuality, conjunction and disjunction since these five general qualities are found in all substa-

8. The present writer has made a brief study of the Īśvara doctrine of Praśastapāda making use also of the fragments of his that have come down to us. See *Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal*, Vol. VI (1968) pp. 65 - 87

9. Cf. *PDS* p. 125,2 (*maheśvarecchā*) ; 122,3 (*maheśvarasya sañjihīrṣā*); 127,2 (*maheśvarasisṛkṣā*).

10. Cf. *PDS* p.122,3 ff. : *maheśvarasya sañjihīrsāsamakālam* .... *teṣāṁ* ... *vināśaḥ*; 127.2 ff. : *maheśvarasisṛkṣānantaram* ... *mahān vāyuḥ samutpanno* ... *tiṣṭhati*; 129.6 ff. : *maheśvarasyābhidhyānamātrāt* ... *mahad aṇḍam ārabhyate*.

nces. It is very probable that the work of Praśastapāda, from which the fragments found in the *Tattvasaṁgraha-pañjikā* and *Sanmatiṭīkā*are taken, contained more details about the qualities of Iśvara, but, as that work seems to be irretrievably lost to us, we have no possibility of ascertaining the exact number of the qualities that he ascribed to Īśvara.

It is interesting to note that, although Praśastapāda mentions the complete list of the qualities of the soul (*ātmā*), some of which are ascribed to Īśvara, nevertheless, he too does not seem to have got rid of the Sāṁkhya-Yoga influence which we come across in Pakṣilasvāmin's description of Īśvara. Thus in his account of the dissolution and creation of the universe found in the *Padārthadharmasaṁgraha* he makes Īśvara create Brahmā with an abundance of superior cognition, dispassionateness and omnipotence,[11] qualities which, as we saw, belong more properly to Sāṁkhya-Yoga than to Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika. And this Brahmā, in his turn, creates the four castes and all the elements endowed with merit, cognition, dispassionateness and omnipotence, each according to its latent results of Karma. About the qualities of Īśvara Himself who creates the Brahmā no mention whatever is made in this account, but it seems legitimate to assume that he ascribes to Īśvara the qualities of Brahmā in an eminent degree. As he does not mention merit (*dharma*) among the qualities of Brahmā, it can be supposed that he does not ascribe that quality to Īśvara.

From the time of Uddyotakara onwards, the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣikas follow more closely the doctrine of substance and qualities described in the Vaiśeṣika works,

11. Ibid. p. 130,3-4

so that the qualities they ascribe to Īśvara can be traced among the qualities of the soul as taught by the school.

2. *The view of Īśvara as possessing six qualities* (*ṣaḍguṇādhikaraṇa*) :

Among the commentators of the Nyāya texts Uddyotakara, the author of the *Nyāyavārttikam* maintains that Īśvara possesses six qualities ; for he says in explicit terms that Īśvara has six qualities.[12] His statement *ṣaḍguṇa . . . īśvaraḥ* is to be interpreted as meaning that Īśvara possesses only six qualities ; for he compares Īśvara in this respect to the ether (*ākāśavat*) which, according to the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣikas, possesses only six qualities, the five general qualities which all substances possess and the specific quality of sound (*śabda*).[13] Moreover, a little further on he makes an enumeration of the qualities of Īśvara where only six qualities are mentioned : the five general qualities of number, dimension, individuality, conjunction and disjunction, as well as one specific quality of cognition (*jñāna*).[14]

Uddyotakara's description of the qualities of Īśvara poses certain problems. On the one hand, he maintains, as we saw, that Īśvara possesses only six qualities ; on the other hand, in other passages of his Īśvara-excursus he ascribes to Him two more qualities which are not found in his above-mentioned enumeration of the qualities of

12. *NV* p. 951,8 : *ṣaḍguṇa ākāśavad īśvaraḥ.*

13. Cf. *PDS* p. 143,4 : *tatrākāśasya guṇāḥ śabdasaṃkhyāparimāṇapṛthaktvasaṃyogavibhāgāḥ.*

14. Cf. *NV* p. 951, 8: *tatra (=īśvare) hi nityā buddhiḥ saṃkhyādayaś ca sāmānyaguṇāḥ.* Further p. 951,13-14: *saṃkhyāpari-māṇapṛthaktvasaṃyogavibhāgabuddhayas tasya (=īśvarasya) guṇāḥ.*

Iśvara. One of these is desire (*icchā*) which is one of the qualities of the soul and which has been recognised by the later Nāya-Vaiśeṣikas as a distinct quality of Īśvara. After enumerating some of the qualities of soul that are absent in Īśvara, Uddyotakara remarks: "On the other hand, there is [in Īśvara, the quality of] desire which is undisturbed and unimpeded with regard to all [its] objects, just as [His] cognition".[15] Such a clear statement as this, in the context in which it appears, allows no other interpretation than that he admits in Īśvara the quality of desire (*icchā*). The second quality which Uddyotakara admits in Īśvara, even though he does not mention it in his enumeration of the qualities of Īśvara is omnipotence (*aiśvarya*). In answer to an opponent who calls in question the omnipotence of Īśvara on the ground that, whether conceived of as eternal or non-eternal, it would imply undesirable consequences, Uddyotakara answers that Īśvara possesses omnipotence.[16] It is difficult to reconcile his acceptance of the qualities of *icchā* and *aiśvarya* in Īśvara with his statement that Īśvara has only six qualities. That he did not make an unconspious mistake in speaking of Īśvara as *ṣaḍguṇaḥ* is clear from the fact that, in his enumeration of His qualities, he mentions only six as well as from the fact that he brings forward ether as an example. Even if we make some concession regard to his omission of the quality of *aiśvarya* on the ground that it is not one of the qualities of soul accepted by the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣikas, the same cannot be done with

15. Cf. *NV* p. 952,13-14: *icchā tu vidyate akliṣṭā 'vyāhatā sarvārthesu, yathā buddhiḥ.*

16. Cf. ibid. p. 950,17: *(tad īsvarasya aisvaryam) nityam iti brūmaḥ.*

regard to the *icchā* of Īśvara. In any case, Uddyotakara's own statement and enumeration of the qualities Īśvara lead us to the conclusion that he admitted in Him only six qualities, not seven nor eight.

Such a conclusion seems to be confirmed by the following consideration. In a passage at the close of his Īśvara-excursus in *Nyāyakandalī*, Śrīdhara mentions two views concerning the qualities of Īśvara, namely the view of those who held that Īśvara possesses six qualities (*ṣaḍguṇādhikaraṇa*), namely cognition and the five general qualities, and that of those who ascribe to Him eight qualities (*aṣṭaguṇādhikaraṇa*), namely cognition, desire and volition as well as the five general qualities.[17] As Uddyotakara is the only author of whom we know, from his own explicit declaration, that he ascribed to Īśvara six qualities as they are mentioned by Śrīdhara, it seems legitimate to suppose that, while mentioning the view that Īśvara possesses only six qualities, he had in mind Uddyotakara.[18]

3. *The view of Īśvara as possessing eight qualities (aṣṭaguṇādhikaraṇa)* :

We know very little about the development of the

17. Cf. *KNand* p. 142,3-9. In both the theories, five of the qualities are the general qualities.

18. It my be pointed out here that in a recent article on the Īśvara doctrine of Śrīdhara published in the *Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute* (=Umeshamishra Commemoration Volume) Vol. XXIV (1968) pp. 25-38, I had stated (see pp. 35 and 37) that the author of the *Nyāyakandalī* followed the view of those who held that Īśvara possesses only six qualities. Later study, however, has made me change my view. I feel rather inclined to believe - as I have set down in a small article : "The number of qualities (*guṇa*) in Īśvara according to Śrīdhara: A reconsideration" (to be published) that Śrīdhara admitted eight qualities in Īśvara.

Īśvara doctrine during the period between Uddyotakara and Vācaspatimiśra. By the time of Vācaspatimiśra, however, it was generally accepted by the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣikas that Īśvara possesses eight qualities, namely the five general qualities: cognition (*jñāna*) desire (*icchā*) and volition (*prayatna*). This view was maintained by the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika writers even later on with the sole exception, as far as I know, of Jayantabhaṭṭa whose view will be spoken of below. Thus Vācaspatimiśra, Bhāsarvajña, Udayana, Śrīdhara and probably Vyomaśiva held that Īśvara possessd eight qualities.[19]

4. The view of īśvara as possessing ten qualities (daśaguṇādhikaraṇa):[20]

Among the Nyaya-Vaiśeṣika writers whose works

19. Note that no strict chronological order is followed in this enumeration. For the relevant passages cf. *NVTT* p. 956,20-21 : *buddhivad icchā-prayatnāv api tasya* (=*īśvarasya*) *nityau* . . . ; *Nyāyabhūṣaṇam* (Nyāyasāra of Bhāsarvajña with his own commentary *Nyāyabhūṣaṇam* (=Saḍdarśana-prakāśanagranthamālā, No. 1) Varanasi 1968 p. 464,2-3; *Nyāyakusumāñjali* (edited by Pt. Padmaprasada Upadhyaya and Pt. Dhundhiraja Sastri, Kashi Sanskrit Series, 30, Varanasi 1957) pp. 494,3-449,9; *NKand* p. 19,8-11; 138,10- 140,5. Vyomaśiva speaks of the *icchā* of Īśvara : cf. *Vyomavati* (edited by Pt. Gopinath Kaviraj, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, No. 61, Benares 1930) p. 298,26; 305,15 ff. The silence of Vyomaśiva concerning Īśvara's *prayatna*, is, it seems to me, to be accounted for by the fact that in his excursus he does not deal with the topic of the qualities of Īśvara and because no occasion presented itself for its usage in the excursus he wrote on Īśvara (pp. 301,27 - 308,7). It should also be mentioned that none of these authors gives a list of the qualities of Īśvara, as Uddyotakara or Jayanta did and that consequently the conclusions we have arrived at are based on the analysis of passages in their works.

20. While the terms *ṣaḍguṇādhikaraṇa* and *aṣṭaguṇādhikaraṇa* as applied to Īśvara are found in Śrīdhara's *NKand*, the expression *daśaguṇādhikaraṇa* is coined by me.

have come down to us we know of only one author who holds the view that Īśvara possesses ten qualities, namely Jayantabhaṭṭa, the author of the *Nyāymañjarī*. In addition to the eight qualities of Īśvara, of which we spoke in the preceding theory, Jayanta ascribes to Īśvara also the qualities of merit (*dharma*) and pleasure (*sukha*).[21] In other words, he admits in Īśvara five general qualities and five specific qualities. It seems to me that Jayanta follows here older views current in an earlier period,[22] although in his own time the view generally accepted was that Īśvara possessed eight qualities.

It is striking that, while speaking of the number of qualities in Īśvara in his *Nyāyakandalī*, Śrīdhara mentions only two thories, namely the theory that Īśvara possesses

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21. cf. *NM* p. 185,2 ff. especially 185,14-15: *tad evaṁ navabhya ātmaguṇebhyaḥ pañca jñānasukhecchāprayatnadharmāḥ santīśvare.*

22. In one of his earlier publications on Nyāya authors, E. Frauwallner pointed out that the main sources of Jayanta are old Nyāya authors whose works have been lost to us and whom he refers to by the terms *ācāryāḥ* and *vyākhyātāraḥ*, he himself mostly following the view of the *ācāryāḥ*. Cf. E. Frauwallner : Beiträge zur Geschichte des Nyāya. I. Jayanta and seine Quellen in : *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, Vol. 43 (1936) pp. 273ff. See also B. Gupta : Die Wahrnehmungslehre in der Nyāyamañjarī (=*Beiträge zur Sprach-und Kulturgeschichte des Orients*, Heft 6), Walldorf-Hessen 1963, pp. 24 f.; 96 ff.

We know that Pakṣilasvāmin ascribed *dharma* to Īśvara (*NBh* p. 943,7). On the other hand, Uddyotakara denied it to Īśvara (*NV* p. 950,18-19) as did those who held that Īśvara possesses eight qualities (cf. *KNand* p. 142,5; *Nyāyakusumāñjali* p. 495,5; *Nyāyabhūsaṇam* p. 465,25-26). A Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika author other than Jayanta who explicitly held that Īśvara possesses *sukha* is not known to me. But we know from the *KNand* of Śrīdhara (p.142,5-6) that those who ascribed to Īśvara eight qualities denied *sukha* in Īśvara.

six qualities and that according to which He has eight qualities, without mentioning the view maintained by Jayanta. The omission of the theories of Pakṣilasvāmin and of Praśastapāda may be explained by the fact that they used sāṁkhya-Yoga terminology and also because no one followed them any more in their use of Sāṁkhya-Yoga terms to describe the qualities of Īśvara.[23] The theory that Īśvara has six qualities was represented, as we said earlier, by Uddyotakara. Whether others continued this theory even during the time of Śrīdhara is not known to us. For, although the fact that Śrīdhara mentions it among the two views on the number of qualities of Īśvara suggests the possibility that such a view was not yet fully given up; nevertheless, none of the extant Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika works of the period testifies to its continuance. What is, indeed, striking is that, while the author of the *Nyāyakandalī* apparently refers to an old theory of six qualities in Īśvara, although it had, as we assume, gone out of date, he does not refer to the view of ten qualities in Īśvara held by Jayanta who was nearer to him in time than Uddyotakara.[24] Were we to assume

23. Here I would like to repeat that this statement may need some modification with regard to Praśastapāda, since our conclusion is based only on the available material. But I am inclined to think that his lost work, from where the fragments found in the *Tattvasaṃgrahapañjikā* and the *Sanmatiṭīkā* are taken, contained much more material on Īśvara than the *PDS*. Moreover, the *Sṛṣṭi-* and *Saṃhāra* section of the *PDS* contains also mythological material on creation and dissolution so that an evaluation of the philosophical Īśvara doctrine of Praśastpāda becomes rather difficult there.

24. According to his own testimony, Śrīdhara completed his *KNand* in 991 A.D. Jayanta Bhaṭṭa lived, in the view of Frauwallner, in the second half of the ninth century. cf. E. Frauwallner : loc. cit. pp. 267 f. See also his : *Geschichte der indischen Philosophie*, Vol. II, Salzburg 1956- p. 23.

that Śrīdhara knowingly and intentionally did not mention the view of Jayanta on the ground that the author of the Nyāyamañjarī was referring to older theories, then one cannot explain easily his mention of the view of Uddyotakara, unless we assume at the same time that this view was still maintained by some, a fact which, as we said earlier, cannot be established from the extent Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika literature.

A general survey of the four theories on the number of qualities in Īśvara which we have mentioned gives us some idea of the gradual development of this aspect of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika Īśvara doctrine. In the early stage, up to the time of Pakṣilasvāmin and Praśastapāda, the qualities of Īśvara were expressed in terminology which was influenced by the Sāṃkhya-Yoga school. The concepts relating to Īśvara had to be formulated in the terminology of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika school. By the time of Uddyotakara the qualities of Īśvara came to be described in terms of the Vaiśeṣika doctrine of categories, although some of the old formulations (v.g. *aiśvarya*) also continued to be used side by side for a time. Uddyotakara himself seems to have held that Īśvara possesses eternal cognition and the five general qualities. The qualities of desire and volition of Īśvara may not have been clearly defined at that time, although it was implied in some manner in the concept of the cognition of Īśvara. It is possible that Uddyotakara's affirmation of the qualities of desire (*icchā*) and omnipotence (*āiśvarya*) in Īśvara was occasioned by his endeavour to meet other current views on the qualities of Īśvara and to accept what he found good in them, without, however, having properly integreted these theories into his own. The inconsistency of Uddyotakara's statements may be

thus accounted for. The desire (*icchā*) of Īśvara had already been spoken of by Praśastapāda and was slowly gaining ground, so that Uddyotakara probably accepted that quality, though he did not integrate it into the conception he had of Īśvara's qualities.

The development of the quality of volition (*prayatna*) as a distinct quality of Īśvara came a little later. Probably the *saṅkalpa* of Īśvara as used by Pakṣilasvāmin,[25] the *icchā* and *aiśvarya* as conceived by Uddyotakar[26] and the *abhidhyāna* as understood by Praśastapāda[27] designated the quality that later came to be specified as volition or *prayatna*. Thus by the time of Vācaspatimiśra, if not earlier, eight qualities came to be ascribed to Īśvara, the five general qualities of number, dimension, individuality, conjunction and disjunction and the three specific qualities of cognition, desire and volition. Although this was the generally accepted view of the school, there were individual thinkers who held slightly divergent views. From the literature that is available now we know only of Jayanta who, while dealing with the qualities of Iśvara, explicitly states that Īśvara possesses five of the nine specific qualities of the soul (*ātmā*), namely, cognition, desire, volition, merit and pleasure[28]. This means that he admits ten qualities in Iśvara, since the five general qualities that are possessed by all substances are also to be counted. What moved

25. cf. *BNh* p.944,2 : *saṅkalpānuvidhāyī cāsya dharmaḥ.*

26. cf. *NV* p. 950, 13-19;952,13-14. Naturally this statement is true only in case Uddyotakara really accepted, besides the six qualities enumerated by him, also these qualities.

27. cf. *PDS* p.129,6-7.

28. cf. *NM* p. 185,14-16 : *tad evaṃ navabhya ātmaguṇebhyaḥ pañca jñānasukhecchāprayatnadharmāḥ santīśvare.*

him to ascribe to Īśvara the two additional qualities of Merit (*dharma*) and pleasure (*sukha*) is not quite certain. To judge from his own declaration, he seems to have conceived of *dharma* as an essential quality flowing from the nature of one who favours the living beings,[29] and since Iśvara operates for the good of the living beings. He should necessarily possess this quality. In the same manner, he ascribes to Īśvara the quality of eternal pleasure because he identifies it with the *ānanda* spoken of in the Āgamas as a quality of the Supreme Being and also because, in his opinion, a being devoid of such pleasure will not be fit to create this universe of ours.[30] But, as we said, the view that prevailed among the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣikas, at least from the of Vācaspati onwards, is that Iśvara possesses eight qualities, the five general qualities and the three specific qualities of cognition, desire and volition.

29. Ibid. p. 185,4 : *dharmas tu bhūtānugrahavato vastusvābhāvyād bhavan na vāryate.*

30. Ibid. p. 185, 5-6 : *sukhaṃ tasya nityam eva nityānandatvenāgamā pratīteh, asukhitasya caivaṃvidhakāryārambhayogyatā—bhāvāt.*

ABBREVIATION AND EDITIONS USED

NKand	:	Praśastapādabhāṣya (Padārthadharmasaṁgraha) with commentary *Nyāyakandali* of Śrīdharabhaṭṭa. Edited by Durgādhar Jhā Śarmā. Along with Hindi translation. Varanasi 1963.
NS	:	*Nyāyasūtra*
NBh	:	*Nyāyabhāṣya*
NV	:	*Nyāyavārttika*
NVTT	:	*Nyāyavārttikatātparyaṭīkā*

The texts of *NS, NBh, NV and NVTT* are quoted from: *Nyāya-darśanam* with Vātsyāyana's *Bhāṣya*, Uddyotakara's *Vārttika*, Vācaspati Miśra's *Tātparyaṭīkā* & Viśvanātha's *Vṛtti*. Critically edited with Notes by Amarendramohan Tarkatirtha and Hemantakumar Tarkatirtha (=Calcutta Sanskrit Series, No. XXIX) Calcutta 1944.

NM : *Nyāyamañjari* of Jayanta Bhaṭṭa edited with notes etc., by Pt. Sūrya Nārāyaṇa Śukla (=Kashi Sanskrit Series, No. 106) Benares 1936.

PDS : See *NKand*

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BHAKTI—ITS ATTACHMENT TO SPECIFIC SACRED PLACE

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Bhakti is not exclusive to South India, although it took a specific form there. In point of fact, the roots of Bhakti can be seen in very early Āryan beginnings. Even though Vedic religion was largely aniconie, Rudra, an early religious figure which is later identified as Śiva, was mentioned in the *Ṛg Veda*. The following *Atharva Veda* describes wandering ascetics called Vrātyas who have been inferred to be devotees of Rudra or Śiva. They were generally austere and meditative, non-ritualistic, devoted to the attainment of ecstacy, and possessed little regard for caste. All of these are also characteristics of later bhaktins. The *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* identifies Rudra-Śiva as a mechanism for the attainment of enlightenment and the *Mahābārata* contains a raphsodic description of Śiva and Mount Kailāsa, his sacred Himālayan abode. The *Mahābhārata* in fact leaves little doubt that by its time both Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism were well-established bhakti cults.[1] In a process of mutual accomodation between Āryans and indigenous inhabitants of India, iconic elements gradually made their way into Sanskrit traditions. The making of images and the building of temples for their installation and worship became a feature of North Indian Sanskritic religion by the turn of the Christian calendar.[2]

1. C. V. Narayana Ayyar, *Origin and Early History of Śaivism* (Madras, 1936) pp. 1-19 ; 37-8 ; 71-2.

2. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Development of Religion in South India* (Madras, 1963) pp. 50, 54, 39.

We do not have historical evidence which provides us with a precise description of the connections between the Bhakti sects which developed in the pre-Buddhist periods in the North and those which began to rise in South India about the beginning of the 6th Century A. D. It is presumed, however, that the former provided the motivation for the latter. Records from the 1st Century A. D. indicate that anthropomorphic figures of gods are a feature of religion in the South, and there is mention of festivals involving the images and their temples which last for a number of days and involve specific rituals to be performed at certain times during the celebration. Information from the 3rd and 4th Centuries make note of images of deities which are either painted directly on the walls of their shrine, or are painted on wooden boards which are then leaned against the back wall, or in some instances, permanently fixed in place. This practice was still followed in Pallava times, for some early rock-cut Pallava shrines include no bas relief sculpture for freestanding cult images in their interior, but provide ashallow ledge in the back wall, apparently as a convenient support for the wooden slab.[3] Poems of the Śaṅgam age mention Śiva and the existence of Śaivite asceticsis noted.[4]

Like its northern predecessor, the Bhakti movement in the South following the 6th Century had two major divisions. Those devotees who worshipped Śiva were known as *Nāyanmārs* and those who worshipped Viṣṇu, as *Ālvārs*.

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3. K. R. Srinivasan, *Cave Temples of the Pallavas* (New Delhi, 1964) p. 34.

4. C. V. Narayana Ayyar, *op. cit.* p. 111.

The early northern Bhakti, while involving a personalized form of deity was heavily influenced by the aniconic nature of Vedic thought. It tended to be intellectual and detached in its manner of worship.[5] Literature with references to the northern Bhaktins indicates a cool, calculated mode of worship[6] and the northern Vaiṣṇava, for example contended that attainment of divine grace required a long and arduous period of training and preparation.[7] The southern Vaiṣṇava, as was also true of the Śaivite *Nāyanmārs*, placed much more emphasis on the person of God, and consequently upon His initiative to act spontaneously. In their scheme of Bhakti, it was conceived that surrender was itself sufficient to move God to an act of grace. Their Bhakti was an emotional, passionate surrender to a remarkably personalized deity.

In this respect, Bhakti represented a considerable departure from other schools of Hindu philosophy. Māṇikkavāśagar, author of the *Tiruvāśagam*, (C. 870 A. D.) outlined the core of Bhakti philosophy in a protest against *Advaita-Vedānta*. For him, the final purpose of devotion was not to lose one's identity in an Absolute which was impersonal and beyond experience, but was to attain to a personal god whose prescence would then be enjoyed for eternity. Rāmānuja, a Śrīvaiṣṇava saint of the 12th Century, affirmed that God

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5. George Wooley Spencer, *Royal Leadership and Imperial Conquest in Medieval South India* (Berkeley, 1967) (Ph.D. Thesis) p. 60.

6. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *loc. cit.*

7. George Wooley Spencer, *loc. cit.*

is a personal being, and that Brahman (the Advaita-Vendāntic name for the Impersonal Absolute) is in fact Nārāyaṇ-Viṣṇu. The Śaiva Siddhānta works of Meykandar were categorical in their affirmation of three conceptual entities which could not be dissolved one in the other : God, bondage, and soul.[8]

Although the Bhakti movement was impelled by a complex set of inter-related influences in South Indian society, of which its reaction to the impersonal, intellectual quality of *Advaita-Vedānta* was only one, it was in large measure a response of Hinduism to the dangers of heretical creeds that claimed large numbers of adherents : Budhism and Jainism.[9] Nilakanta Sastri notes that it was the energetic devoted labors of the Nāyanār and Ālvār saints which reversed the tide of the protestant Buddhist and Jain creeds in the South.[10] Bhakti proved to be a capable adversary of Islam as well.[11] In the 14th Century, when much of the Deccan was under various degrees of Muslim control, the pressure of Islam provoked a strong Śaivite revival. This new form of Śaivism stressed equality among its adherents,[12] a Bhakti concept going back to its first mention among Śaivite asectics in the *Atharva Veda.*[13] This measure proved an effective counter against the

8. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *loc. cit.*

9. *Ibid.*

10. K. A. Nilkanta Sastri, *The Colas* (Madras, 1955) p. 129.

11. K. M. Panikkar, *A Survey of Indian History* (Bombay, 1962) p. 131.

12. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *A History of South India* (Madras, 958) pp. 226-227.

13. C. V. Narayana Ayyar, *op. cit.* pp. 17-19.

appeal of caste abolition which was one of the strong features of Islamic religion.

It cannot be overlooked, however, that Bhakti movements were also a reaction against Āryanization itself. This reaction is only, inpart, concerned with the orthodox tendency toward *Advaita-Vedānta* for there were additional factors which opened a gulf between Brāhmans and non-Brāhmans. The first group enjoyed royal patronage and provided service to rulers which reinforced their strong social position, while the latter were far removed from contact with their rulers, and moreover, often supported local village cults. Brāhmans tended to be strongly concerned with caste regulations, since they had much to lose by violation of ritual purity. Further, they used Sanskrit in their literature and this removed them completely from the possibility of communication with most of the population.[14]

Bhakti saints, on the other hand, used the language of the people to create poetry of intense devotion which set down their philosophy. Moreover, they used relatively simple tunes which were easily learned and sung by villagers throughout the countryside. Śaṇkarācārya, a Keraḷa Brahman, arose to face the challenge of the popular cult on behalf of organized Brāhmanism in an unparalleled exposition of Advaita philosophy, but in the South, he was effectively countered by the equally vigorous work of Rāmānuja.

While the Bhakti movement was successful in its struggle against the heterodoxies of Buddhism and

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14. Romila Thapar, *A History of India*, Baltimore, 1966, p. 188.

Jainism, it would appear that much of its success was achived by borrowing critical ideas from these sects and incorporating them in its own faith.

The virtual elimination of Buddhism in all of India by the 9th Century is in large measure explained by a process of mutual accomodation of ideas. Buddhism had revised its prohibition against representation of the Buddha, and in other ways, also had begun to resemble a Hindu sect. Brāhmanism, however, had also made marked changes. K. M. Panikkar observes that the accusation that Śaṅkara was a Pracchana Buddha (i.e. a covert Buddhist) had basis in real fact.[15] Bhakti devotees also made accomodations. Tamil devotional cults are often marked by a feeling of sin, worthlessness and inadequacy in the sight of God, which is closer to Buddhistic thought than to Vedic ideas.[16] This feeling was probably reinforced by the non-Buddhistic concept of a personalized God and the resulting aura of inferiority which this may engender in the individual devotee who is by definition eternally separate and distinct from Him.

A borrowing which proved to be critically important in the development of the temple was the grafting into Hinduism of a sense of place. It is extremely critical and highly significant that no Vedic monuments exist and that prior to the development of Buddhism attachment to place was virtually non-existent in the development of the Sanskritic religious tradition. Buddhism had itself adapted many items of popular

15. K. M. Panikkar, *op. cit.* p. 103.

16. Romula Thapar. *op. cit.* p. 188

belief in its formative years. One of these was devotional attachment to caityas, or sacred spots. This was a non-Brahmanical idea, outside of the framework of Vedic sacrifice, which involved the reverence of villagers for a particular place or thing, perhaps a tree, but often a tumuli or mound where the remains of an illustrious chief of the village had been interred. Sometime following the death of the Buddha, numbers of monks began to relinquish the practice of wandering and began to locate themselves permanently near the outskirts of sympathetic villages. Often they located themselves near the local caityas and over a period of time incorporated the caitya concept as an integral part of their religion. The Bodhi tree at Gayā where the Buddha had sat awaiting enlightenment acquired this feeling of sacredness, as did other spots associated with the Buddha's own life : the Deer Park at Vārāṇasī where he first preached the sermon of the Turning of the wheel of the Law, and the Lumbini Grove where he was reputed to have been born. From objects of veneration these became spots of pilgrimage, a practice to which Aśoka lent royal recognition by his own participation.[17]

That the Bhakti saints aodpted a similar affection for particular sacred spots is evident in their devotional literature. The Bhakti saints not only preached personal devotion, but wandered throughout the South, making visits to those temples believed to be especially sacred to their own particular God. Nilakanta Sastri notes that not only were their hymns of great lyric quality and literary merit, often exposing remarkable philosophical insights, but they *always* related the rapture that

17. A. L. Basham, *The Wonder That was India* (New York, 1959) pp. 262-263.

the devotee felt in worshipping at perticularly favorite shrines of the God to which they were devoted.[18]

The Śaivite shrine at Cidambaram is one of the more renowned shrines lauded in Bhakti poetry and song. So highly regarded is this particular spot that it is often referred to simply as "koyil," a Tamil word simply meaning "the temple." Its frequent mention by Śaivite hymnists played an important part in securing its position. During the region of the Cola King Kulottuṅga II (1133-1150 A. D.), the "Tirruttoṇḍarpurāṇam" is reputed to have been composed by a Tamil Bhakti saint, Sekkilār, in the thousand-pillared maṇḍapa of Cidambaram temple. The *Tirruttoṇḍarpurāṇam* is one of twelve major books of the Śaiva tradition. Māṇikkavāsagar, one of the last composers of the productive period of the great Bhakti hymns, devoted many of his works to describing the wonder of Cidambarm and to praising the splendors of Śiva's cosmic dance in Tillai. Both the "Tiruvāśakam" and "Tirusiṟṟambalam" composed by him are thought to have been created at Cidambaram.[19] Popular lengend asserts that a vault behind the Naṭarāja shrine once contained 103,000 hymns. When Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi opened the vault he is supposed to have found that most of the palm leaves had been destroyed by termites and were irretreivably damaged. Only a small portion of the total number were salvageable and these he completed into the work known as the "*Tevāram*."[20]

18. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Development of Religion in South India*, op. cit. p. 39.

19. J. C. Harle, *Temple Gateways of South India*, (Oxford 1953), pp. 27-31.

20. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *op. cit.* p. 41.

This devotion to place was critical in the development of Śaivism. Even in the Epic age the average person tied to the soil or to a craft through economic necessity, could not adopt the austerities and ceaseless wandering practiced by yoga ascetics. They may have venerated the ideal, but any number of pressures, from personal desires to the pressure of social *dharma*, would have tended to tie them to their every day patterns. Periodic symbolic enactment of the ascetie ideal was possible however. Places where yogis performed their austerities and practised their disciplines became holy places called Tīrthas which provided benefit to even the non-yogi who visited there for worship. The benefits of pilgrimage to a Tīrtha were impressive. One might achieve the aunulment of *karma* and increase his eligibility for *mokṣa* and the enjoyment of divine union.[21]

The explicit grafting of a sense of place into Hinduism by the Bhakti poets and their fervid emotional praise of specific shrines as holy sites of personalized dieties provided the necessary idea to quicken the tradition of pilgrimage and make of it a significant religious institution. The thought that a God was particularly associated with one spot and that a spiritual ecstacy, as well as special merit, could be obtained there more redily than in other places[22] (an ideal explicit in Bhakti devotional hymns) was a powerful element in the development of a large number of shrines distinquished in this manner.

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21. George Wooley Spencer, *op. cit.*, pp. 64-65.

22. Burton Stein, "The Economic Function of a Medieval South Indian Temple," *The Journal of Asian Studies*, (Ann Arbor, 1960) XIX, p. 163.

ATHARVA SAṀHITĀ AND ITS FORMS

H. R. DIVEKAR

Poona

The Vedic triad has only one form of *Saṁhitā*. But it is not so with *Atharvaveda*, which has more forms of its *Saṁhitā*, than one. One of them is called श्राचार्य-संहिता. This word is not found in any lexicon. Monier Williams does not give its under the words compounded with the word श्राचार्य. It is first used in पंचपटलिका which is a लक्षणग्रन्थ of *Atharvaveda*. It occurs in the first verse of its fifth or last paṭala.

But no explanation is given therein. Bhagavaddatta on p. 4 of his introduction to the published edition of पंचपटलिका quotes a portion of Dārila's commentary. He takes it from p. 27 of Bloomfield's edition of *Kauśika Sūtra*. In note No: 3 on that page, Dārila says:

पुनरुक्त प्रयोगः। पंचपटलिकायामेव कथितः। श्रार्षी संहितायाः कर्म संयोगात्। श्राचार्यसंहिताभ्यासार्था।

But even here, the meaning of *Ācārya Saṁhitā* does not become clear. On page 6, Bhagavaddatta, infers from this quotation that श्राचार्यसंहिता is that in which the उक्तानुक्त विधि of पंचपटलिका or what is called पुनरुक्तप्रयोग by Darila becomes applicable. He also says that *Ārṣī Saṁhita* is that which is used in rites. He thus thinks that there were two froms of *Atharva Saṁhitā*: श्राचार्यसंहिता and श्रार्षीसंहिता.

Bhagavaddatta did not have the ms. of Dārila Bhāṣya before him. He depended completely on Bloomfield,

who even when he had the commentary of Dārila before him, did not take the trouble of going through its introduction. He remained content simply by giving some easy extracts explaining the sūtras. But now when we possess Dārila's commentary as given in the Berlin codex, we are in a better position to explain the lines quoted above and point out that there were not only the two forms of *Atharva Saṁhitā* as given above but there was also a third from.

At the very outset of the introduction to his commentary, Dārila says:

त्रिविधा संहिता । आचार्यसंहिता, आर्षीसंहिता, विधिप्रयोगसंहिता च ।

Saṁhitā exists in three forms : आचार्यसंहिता, आर्षीसंहिता and विधिप्रयोगसंहिता. He further explains these three forms. About the first, he says:

येन उपनीय शिष्यं पाठयति सा आचार्यसंहिता ।

The form by which (the teacher) teaches his disciple, after initiating him is आचार्यसंहिता. The example given by him is पितरं मित्रं शतवृष्ण्यम् । These words are found in *Śaunaka Saṁhitā* I. 3.2. But there they are preceded by विद्मा शरस्य and followed by तेना ते. . . वहिष्टे अस्तु बालिति. About the second form, he says ऋषिणा दृष्टा ऋषिसंहिता–ऋषिसंहिता exists in the form in which it was seen by the seer (ऋषि). Here the example given is I. 3.2. in full i.e. as it is given in *Samhitā*. Does Dārila intend to say that there was a संहिता in which after I. 3.1, there were only the words पितरं मित्रं शतवृष्ण्यम् and the student only recited these words and not the whole मंत्र–विद्मा शरस्य पितरम् etc? If so there must have been a पोथी giving this abridged *Saṁhitā* But no such 'pothi' has been found up till now.

Bhagavaddatta has also mentined this fact on the last page of his introduction (p.14). He says that he

had no written *Saṁhitā* before him, in which the उक्तानुक्त-नियम–s i.e. rules about what has been said, need not be said, were exemplified. That is why he is not sure about his interpretation of the first paṭala of पंचपटलिका, which gives the rules about the abridgement of the आर्षीसंहिता. Fortunately when I had been to Gwalior in December 1970, I found a pothi giving the padas of such a *Saṁhitā*. This ms. gives the *padas* not of the whole संहिता, but only in their abridged form-i e. by dropping the words already used. Here I found the *padas* of I.3.2, only as पितरम् । मित्रम् । शत-वृष्ण्यम् । After वृष्ण्यम् the numeral 2 is written to denote that the second *mantra* ends and again writes: पितरम् । वरुणम् । शतवृष्ण्यम् ।।3।। and so on, till it comes to the 5th *mantra* which is given in full. In the following four *mantras*–6 to 9, the second hemistich एवा ते मूत्रं मुच्यतां बहि र्बालिति सर्वकम् is not given in pada–form in the verses 7 & 8, but is given in verses 6 & 9. All this seems to be done according to a *Saṁhitā*, giving the mantras in their abridged form. Here are thus seen the उक्तानुक्त rules, mentioned in पंचपटलिका and practised by the Ātharvaṇikas.

Not only are the rules of पंचपटलिका followed in this pothi, but even extracts are taken from it. Thus after the end of the first Anuvāka of the first kāṇḍa, i.e. at the end of the sixth Sūkta, is written आद्य प्रथम ऋचो नव स्युः Similarly at the end of the second Anuvāka which ends with Sūkta 11, is written पंच परे तु and at the end of the fifth Anuvāka, ending with 28th Sūkta are given the words पंचमेऽष्टौ. All these sentences occur in the beginning of the 4th paṭala, which reads in the published text as follows :—

आद्य प्रथम ऋचो नव स्युर्विद्यात् । पंच परे तु । पंचमेऽष्टौ । एकादश चोत्तरे पराः स्युः । विंशत्या कुरुते । विंशकावतो ऽन्यौ । (p.13). A little thought

convinces us that these must be the prose sentences formed from a metrcial stance like.

आद्ये हि प्रथमे ऋचो नव स्युः
विद्यात् पंच परे तु पंचमेऽष्टौ ।
एकादश चोत्तरे पराः स्युः
विंशत्याः, कुरु विंशकावतोऽन्यौ ॥

In the first (अनुवाक) of the first (kāṇḍa), there are nine verses more than twenty; in the next after it, there are five more; in the fifth eight more; and in one after it, eleven more. In the two others there are twenty and twenty. Thus in the firsh kāṇḍa there are 29+25+20+20+28+31=153 verses. It is thus quite evident that these *padas* given in this pothi follow a *saṁhitā* exemplifying the rules of पंचपटलिका—an आचार्यसंहिता for study.

As regards आर्षीसंहिता, Dārila further says पार्षदे पूर्वं प्रोक्ता इति. Here he actually quotes पंचपटलिका, which at the commencement of its 3rd paṭala, reads:

आर्षी या पार्षदे पूर्वं : प्रोक्ता सूक्ताग्रसंख्यया ।
... ...
सूक्तानां परिमाणार्थमृचामग्रं प्रमाणितम् ।
ऋचाग्रेण तु सूक्ताग्रं सूक्ताग्रेण तु संहिताम् ॥
सूक्ताग्रपरिमाणेन ... ... ।
... ... संप्रदायादधीमहे ॥

From this it is clear that ऋषिसंहिता is that which is taught by the old seers traditionally according to the number of its hymns and verses. Thus the books of *Atharva Saṁhitā* as published in Kāṇḍas, Sūktas and mantras is what is called ऋषिसंहिता.

We now come to the third form–विधिप्रयोगसंहिता–Dārila says: विधिप्रयोगसंहिता विधौ प्रयुज्यते. It is employed in

the performance of the rites. The first example given by Dārila is ऋतुभ्यस्त्वा यजे स्वाहा. The whole verse as recited in ऋषिसंहिता (III-10-10) runs thus :—

ऋतुभ्यष्ट्वाऽऽर्तवेभ्यो माद्भ्यः संवत्सरेभ्यः ।
धात्रे विधात्रे समृधे भूतस्य पतये यजे ॥

Thus it has been said by the seers. But the socrificers do not employ it in this form. It is to be split in parts thus: ऋतुभ्यस्त्वा यजे स्वाहा । आर्तवेभ्यस्त्वा यजे स्वाहा । माद्भ्यस्त्वा यजे स्वाहा etc. The one verse is divided in eight parts and oblations are given with each part.

The second example is given for using XI-3-2 which runs thus :—

ततश्चैनमन्येन शीर्ष्णा प्राशीः येन चैतं पूर्व ऋषयः प्राश्नन् । ज्येष्ठस्ते प्रजा मरिष्यतीत्येनमाह ।

तं वेा अहं नार्वाञ्चं न पराञ्चं न प्रत्यञ्चम् ।

बृहस्पतिना शीर्ष्णा । तेनैनं प्राशिषं तेनैनमजीगमम् ।

While exemplifying this Darila says केन शीर्ष्णा प्राशी : येन......
i.e. before the words शीर्ष्णा प्राशीः etc., the word केन is to be employed to make it a question put by the sacrificer. The answer to which is to be given as तं वा अहं . . . बृहस्पतिना शीर्ष्णा . . . तेनैनं . . . He further says उत्तरयोगेष्वेवं प्रयोग : / While using the following *mantras* a similar procedure is to be followed. For instance in the following *mantra*, काभ्यां श्रोत्राभ्यां प्राशी : is to be used in the question and the answer then should be तं वा अहं . . . द्यावा पृथिवीभ्यां श्रोत्राभ्याम् . . . ताभ्यामेनं . . . Darila thus shows how the *mantra* is to be used by puting some new words in it.

The third example is अग्निं ब्रूमो, यन्मातली रथक्रीतं ब्रूमो राजानं, यन्मातली इत्येवं सर्वासां द्वितीया । The hymn अग्निं ब्रूमो stands as XI.6. The first verse is अग्निं ब्रूमो, the second is ब्रूमो राजानम् and यन्मातली is the last i.e. 23rd. What Dārila means to

say, is that यन्मातली is the last to be used after each verse as its second that is to be repeated after every verse. षट् चत्वारिंशदचो विधिः विधिसंहिता. Thus says Darila. The last verse being repeated after every other verse, even after itself, this becomes the rite of $23 \times 2 = 46$ verses and thus exemplifies विधिसंहिता.

Next example given by Darila is आयमगन्, ऋतून् यज, इंद्रपुत्र, एकाष्टका, विधिसंहिता । Verses beginning with these words occur as the 8th, 9th, 13th and 12th of the hymn प्रथमा ह्व्युवास i.e. III-10. But Darila says that in the विधिसंहिता, they are to be used in this order. The order of the verses is thus changed in विधिसंहिता,

Darila gives now the last example. He says :—
इंद्रस्यौज इत्यनयावपन्नां प्रक्षालयति । जिष्णवे योगाय इत्यपो युनक्ति । पुनरिंद्रस्यौज इति प्रक्षालयति । जिष्णवे योगायेत्यपो युनक्ति । एतद् न्यासेन न्यासेन प्रक्षालनयोगैः एताश्चैकावसाना युक्ता वक्तुमिति विधिप्रयोगसंहिताप्रदर्शनम् ॥

इंद्रस्यौजः is the first hemistitch of X-5-1 and जिष्णवे योगाय the second. Kauśika sūtras mention their use in 49-3,4. The rite is to be performed on self-fallen sticks of अश्वत्थ. They are to be washed with the *mantra* इंद्रस्यौजः and water is to be poured on it by जिष्णवे योगाय. The procedure is to be followed again and again six times with the six verses of X-5-1. Each time, the first half is the same, but the second half is different. Darila thus says that these are fit to be called एकावसाना i.e. having only one sentence in each. He gives this as his opinion, but पंचपटलिका does not do so. Thus end the explanation of विधिप्रयोगसंहिता.

By his five examples, Darila illustrates the five different manners by which *mantras* of the ऋषिसंहिता are to be employed in the performance of the ritual. They are :—

(i) a verse is to be split in parts, as ऋतुभ्यष्ट्वा यजे.

(ii) New words are to be added in the *mantras* as केन शीर्ष्णा.

(iii) Number of verses are to be increased by repetition, as अग्नि अूमो यन्मातलो

(iv) change of order of the verses as इंद्रपुत्रे एकाष्टका

(v) A semiverse is to be taken separately as a मंत्र, as इंद्रस्यौजः जिष्णवे योगाय.

Any way, ऋषिसंहिता is the संहिता par excellence and stands between the आचार्यसंहिता and विधिप्रयोगसंहिता as the main stay. आचार्यसंहिता tries to avoid the repetitions and abridges it for study, while the विधिप्रयोगसंहिता amplifies it for ritual.

BUDDHISM IN A NEW PERSPECTIVE

U. DHAMMARATANA
Nalanda

[With the early Western writers on Buddhism it had become almost a fashion to represent the doctrine of Lord Buddha as a kind of pessimism. The obvious reason was the presentation of the four noble truths (cattāri ariya-saccāni) with *dukkha* or suffering as the first proposition. This method of presenting the four truths is quite logical. This doctrine as a whole could be appreciated only when all the four propositions are taken into consideration. Then it would be clear that it is neither pessimistic nor optimistic but realistic in nature. Another point they failed to appreciate was that the four truths represent only one approach to the Reality. In the discourses of the Buddha there are also other approches to it.

The Buddha did not deny the existence of the sensual pleasures which represent the only happiness for the common run of people. But then he pointed out that it does not exhaust all happiness for man. In the light of his own experience he taught that there are higher levels of happiness culminating in the eternal bliss of Nibbāna. There are discourses of the Buddha bearing on this point. This view point has been elucidated in the present article.]

Consciously or unconsciously all living beings are seeking after happiness. We can conceive of a scale of happiness. The gradation of the scale is not one of quantity alone but of quality also. It may be under-

stood in terms of various mental stages beginning with that of the animal and ending with that of the perfect saint.

Happiness at the lowest level may be presented in terms of what are called carnal pleasures which are common to men and lower animals. The carnal pleasures represent the crudest form of happiness. The people in general pursue after this kind of happiness. Egoism in its most unregenerate form manifests in relation to the enjoyment of carnal pleasures. The enjoyment of carnal pleasures gives rise to lustful desires. They, in their turn, give rise to grasping. This sets in motion a chain of actions and reactions. As a result, there is a hot pursuit after such pleasures. But the composite things being what they are, they elude the grasp of man. The moment they are touched, they are gone, there is nothing abiding. Therefore nothing is retained. This kind of pleasure-hunting proves to be a will-ó-the-wisp. When his desires are not fulfilled, man meets with disappointment. Bitterness of disappointment would be in proportion to the intensity of attachment. Hence it has been said : 'When a person given to the pursuit of carnal pleasures has obtained them, he is happy indeed; but the moment he loses them, he suffers like one struck with an arrow'.[1]

Without stopping to understand the nature of these painful experiences, most people would try to devise various ways and means of obtaining and enjoying such

1. Kāmaṁ Kāmyamānassa tassa ce taṁ samijjhati,
Addha pītimano hoti laddhā macco yadicchati.
Tassa ce kāmayānassa chandajātassa jantuno
te kāmā parihāyanti sallaviddho va ruppati.
Kāmasutta, *Suttanipāta*, p. 388.

pleasures. In the process they would be creating lot of complications for themselves and others. The Devatā of the *Saṁyuttanikāya*, who gave expression to this fact in the following words, must have been a keen observer of human affairs :

'Tangle within and tangle without. These people are entangled in a tangle. So I put this question to Gotama—who succeeds in disentangling this tangle ?'.[2]

It is the animal desires that are concerned with the enjoyment of carnal pleasures. Even in normal cases they give rise to mental agitations. In abnormal cases they give rise to emotional outbursts. Here it has to be noted that it is not so much the pleasures as such that are at fault. It is the self-centred desires, that are unregenerate in nature, that are at fault. All attempts at the illegitimate enjoyment of sensual pleasures lead to clash of interests and all the painful consequences they are heir to. It is their over-estimation that leads to this state of affairs. If they are estimated for what they are worth and treated as such, no ground would be left for inordinate desires, attachment and clash of interests. Therefore it has been said that the wise man understands the nature of these pleasures in terms of both *assāda* or joy and *ādīnava* or pain. In the enjoyment of such pleasures he follows the middle course. With mindfulness he keeps within the limits of the legitimate demands of nature, and avoids getting involved in complications.

At the second stage we have what are known as intellectual pleasures. A certain amount of detachment

2. Anto jaṭā bahi jaṭā jaṭāya jaṭitā pajā taṁ taṁ Gotama pucchāmi ko imaṁ vijaṭaye jaṭaṃ ? Devatāsaṁyutta, *Saṁyuttanikāya*. Vol I, p. 164

is required for the enjoyment of these pleasures. A lover of music would enjoy a sweet song on a beautiful theme. While listening to it, he would feel as if the very chords of his heart have been touched. They vibrate in response to the musical tunes. Unlike in the case of the enjoyment of carnal pleasures, here he is not carried away by crude emotions. Both head and heart play their part, and mental balance is maintained.

We can also speak of a gradation of intellectual pleasures in terms of a detached attitude of mind. The carnal pleasures have been characterised as crude in nature. Comparatively speaking intellectual pleasures are of a refined nature. The sense of egoism is still present. But it does not come to the forefront of mind. With a sense of civility it remains in the background. For the same reason, there is not much ground for clash of interests. In fact it is by cultivating an attitude of detachment that the highest pleasures of this category can best be enjoyed. As they rise higher and higher in the scale, they become more and more universal in nature. On the contrary, carnal pleasures remain individualistic in nature. Then again intellectual pleasures leave a healthy effect on a person. As such he or she feels refreshed and recreated after undergoing this kind of experience. Though carnal pleasures are crude and intellectual pleasures are refined in nature, in a wider sense they come under the common category of sensual pleasures.

When we read the discourses of the Buddha on the first noble truth (dukkha-ariya-sacca), at first sight it appears to us as if He ignored to recognise the very existence of sensual pleasures. It is true that while giving a logical exposition of the first truth He showed

how sensual pleasures end in pain, and that from the point of view of the Noble Ones (ariyas), who are on a higher mental plane. All the same He did not forget to refer to the existence of sensual pleasures. Thus in *assādasutta* He says, 'if there were no delights in the five sensual pleasures, the common people would not go after them'.[3] Here the special reference is to the carnal pleasures. The Buddha spoke these words in the light His own experience. Once in course of a discussion with Mahānāma Sākya, who expressed his difficulty in overcoming attachment for sensual pleasures in spite of his best efforts, the Buddha remarked that before Enlighenment He too experienced difficulty in weaning away the mind from running after sensual pleasures. It was only when He was able to direct His mind towards higher happiness that He was able to give up attachment for such pleasures.[4]

As regards the enjoyment of intellectual pleasures in the case of the Buddha and His disciples, we can form some idea on the basis of their descriptions of natural beauty as found in the *Theragāthā* and *Udāna*.

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3. No ce daṁ, bhikkhave, rūpānaṁ assādo abhavissa, na yidaṁ sattā rūpesu sārajjeyyuṃ...... na phoṭṭhabbesu sārajjeyuṃ.

Saṁyuttanikāya, Vol. iv, p. I2.

4. Mayhaṃ pi kho, Mahānāma, pubbeva sambodhā, anabhisambuddhassa bodhi—sattasseva sato, 'appassādā kāmā bahudukkhā bahupāyāsā, ādhīnavo ettha btiyyo ti'—evametaṃ yathābhūtaṃ sammappaññāya na sudiṭṭhaṃ hoti ; so ca aññatreva kāmehi aññatra akusalehi dhammehi piti-sukhaṃ nājjhagamaṃ, aññaṃ vā tato santataraṃ ; atha khvāhaṃ neva tāva anāvaṭṭi kāmesu paccaññāsiṃ. yato ca kho me, Mahānāma, 'appassādā kāmā...ādinavo ettha bhīyyo' ti—evame- taṃ...sudiṭṭhaṃ ahosi, so aññatreva kāmehi aññatra akusalehi dhammehi pītisukhaṃ ajjhagamaṃ, aññaṃ vā tato santataraṃ ; athāhaṃ anāvaṭṭi kāmesu paccaññāsiṃ.

Cūḷadukkhakkhandha-sutta, *Majjhimanikāya* Vol. I, p. 127.

In this world we always have exponents of sensual pleasures both at the lower and the higher levels. The special mission of the Tathāgata was to direct the mind of people towards the highest happiness of *Nibbāna*, which He had realised after a life of great *sādhanā*. This means that sensual pleasures do not exhaust all happiness. In other words there are pleasures other than those of the sensual plane.

With reference to the above fact the Buddha says, 'if somebody were to say that the five kinds of sensual pleasures exhaust all happiness, I do not agree with him. There are pleasures other than these which are of a higher and sweeter nature'. Here the reference is to the pleasures of the *Jhānic* plane which may be characterised as super-sensual. There are eight stages in the *Jhānic* plane—four *rūpa-Jhānas* and four *arūpa-Jhānas*. Again the happiness that is enjoyed in a higher *Jhāna* is sweeter than that of a lower *Jhāna*. *Paṭhamajjhāna* stands at the lowest level and *Nevasaññānāsaññāyatana* at the highest level. While elaborating the point the Buddha refers to this fact in terms of the *Jhānas* in a progressive order.[5]

5. Yaṃ kho, Ānanda, ime pañca kāmaguṇe paṭicca uppajjati sukhaṃ somamassaṃ—idaṃ vuccati kāmasukhaṃ. ye kho, Ānanda, evaṃ vadeyyuṃ—etaṃ paramaṃ santaṃ sukhaṃ somanassaṃ paṭisaṃvedentī ti—idaṃ nesāhaṃ nānujānāmi. taṃ kissa hetu ? atthānanda, etamhā sukhā aññaṃ sukhaṃ abhikkantataraṃ ca paṇītataraṃ ca.

Katamaṃ cānanda, etamhā sukhā aññaṃ sukhaṃ abhikkantataraṃ ca paṇītataraṃ ca? Idhānanda, bhikkhu vivicceva kāmehi... vivakajaṃ pītsukhaṃ paṭhamaṃ jhānaṃ upasampajja viharati. Idaṃ kho, Ānanda, etamhā sukhā aññam sukhaṃ abhikkantataraṃ ca paṇītataraṃ...atthanandā, etamhā sukha aññaṃ sukhaṃ abhikkantataraṃ ca Paṇītataraṃ ca...Idhānanda, bhikkhu sabbaso ākiñcaññāyatanaṃ samatikkamma nevasaññānāsaññāyatanaṃ upasampajja viharati. Pañcakaṅgasutta, *Saṃyuttanikāya*, Vol. iv, pp. 200-202.

In this connection it has to be noted that the sensual pleasures are dependent on the physical world represented by the five sense-objects—visual objects to tactual objects.[6] For the same reason they are derivative in nature. Further they are associated with *kilesas* or defilements which may be gross or subtle as the case may be. On the contrary the *Yogāvacara* enjoys the *Jhānic* happiness by withdrawing into the mental world. By attaining different stages of *Jhāna* he taps higher sources of happiness sweeter and sweeter in nature. Unlike the sensual pleasures which are derivative in nature, *Jhānic* happiness is intrinsic in nature. In *Jhānas* being aloof from defilements, which are but so may hindrances, mind has free play. In the case of the sensual plane, under the influence of *kilesas*, mind remains in a state of bondage (yoga) and agitation (vikkhepa). In the super-sensual plane, it is in a state of freedom (vimutti) and tranquillity (samatha). Conventionally speaking, it may be said that while the pleasures of the sensual plane are momentary in nature, those of the super-sensual plane are more durable in that a *yogāvacara* can remain in a *Jhānic* state for a long time. This has been beautifully explained in *Abhidhamma* with reference to the *appanāvīthi-citta*. One of the relevant passages on the point is as follows: 'On all occasions, in a state of *Jhāna*, consciousness flows on like the *bhavaṅga* without any interruption. Hence here *javana*, continues

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6. pañca kāmaguṇā-cakkhuviññeyyā rūpā iṭṭhā kantā manāpā piyarūpā kāmūpasaṃhitā rajanīyā ... kāyaviññeyyā phoṭṭhabbā iṭṭhā kantā manāpā piyarūpā kāmūpasaṃhitā rajaniyā.

Saṅgītisutta, *Dīghnikāya*, Vol. iii, P. 182.

for numerious thought-moments.[7] Both the sensual plane (kāma-bhūmi) and super-sensual plane (mahaggata-bhūmi) come under the common category of the mundane plane (lokiya-bhūmi). This is true of their happiness also.

Even *Jhāna-sukha* or super-sensual pleasures do not exhaust all happiness. *Nibbāna* is the ultimate goal of life. It represents the highest happiness.[8] It can be attained only in the supra-mundane plane (lokuttara-bhūmi). Happiness of lower planes is relative in nature, whereas that of the highest plane is absolute in nature.[9] The *yogāvacara* has a foretaste of *Nibbāna* when he attains *Nirodhasamāpatti* where there is the cessation of both perception (saññā) and feeling (vedanā). The world of relativity is understood and experienced in terms of *saññā* and *vedanā*. They have no excess to the ultimate truth and for that matter happiness absolute. It is only on the temporary cessation of the function of this mental apparatus that the saint enters into the last *samāpatti*, where he becomes one with reality (dhammabhúto). He is truth itself, happiness itself. As *Nibbāna* is beyond concepts and words, it is indescribable and inexpressible (anakkhāta). It is a matter for self-realisation of the wise (paccattaṁ veditabbo viññūhi).

Though *Nibbāna* is incomparable, there are certain expressions which refer to its excellent nature. Theras and Theris in their *udānas* refer to the fact that

7. Sabbathāpi samāpattivīthiyaṃ bhavaṅgasote viya vīthinyamo natthī ti katvā bahūni pi labbhantī ti.

Abhidamma Philosophy, p. 140.

8. nibbānaṃ paramaṃ sukhaṃ. *Dhammapada*, 257.

9. ekantasukhaṃ nibbānaṃ. *Milindapañha*, (Bombay edition) p. 253.

they alwyas take delight in *Nibbāna* (nibbāna-ratā sadā). While referring to his experience of the matter Kulla Thera says : 'Delight one experiences on relising the truth in a state of *samādhi* is not to be had even from the five-fold music.[10] On one occasion in course of a discussion with a *brahmin* named Magandiya the Buddha remarked that he took delight in happiness surpassing even that of the Devas.[11]

These similes have been used just to direct the mind of the aspirant towards *Nibbāna.* He is not to rest satisfied with lesser achievements on the way. He has to tread the noble path to the end until the final goal is reached.

For one who has realised Nibbāna, happiness of lower planes appears as illusory. *Nibbāna* is *the* happiness. Mundane happiness is but a shadow when compared with the supra-mundane happiness which is the substance. But then it cannot be gain said that for those who are still in the lower planes that happiness is real. Children build houses. For them they are real, and not just playthings. So they take great care of them. When they are damaged they feel aggrieved. For the matured they are but make-believe. But then this kind of make-believe is essential for the healthy growth of the child. When he has outgrown his childhood, he

10. pañcaṅgikena turiyena na ratī hoti tādisi, yathā ekaggacittassa sammā dhammaṃ vipassato.

Theragāthā, 328

11. yā hayaṃ Magandiya, ratī aññatreva kāmehi aññatra akusalehi dhammehi— api dibbaṃ sukhaṃ samadhigayha tiṭṭhati-tāya ratiyā ramamāṇo hīnassa na pihemi, na tattha abhiramāmi.

Māgandhiyasutta, *Majjhimanikāya*, Vol. II, p. 203.

understands how childish it was of him to have treated the playthings as real. Now he understands the world around him. Him mind is occupied with things of greater importance. So he is no more in a position to attach importance to playthings of his childhood days.[12]

So far as the spiritual happiness is concerned, *Puthujjana* or the average man of the world is a child. He is occupied with his playthings. Let him be happy with his toys without creating complications for himself and others. But then he cannot remain in this state for long. A time will come when he will begin to outgrow this childish mentality. That is the point of disillusionment. *Bodhicitta* is within him. It is the jewel within the lotus,[13] which is waiting for the sun-shine of *Saddhamma* to bloom forth. When it has been touched by the sun-rays, the petals open one by one. In due course it is in full bloom. Then the jewel within shines forth in full effulgence. The awakening of the *Bodhicitta* is a gradual process.

Once the *Bodhicitta* has been tickled, it is not possible for the *yogāvacara* to remain in the lower plane. With his *dhamma-cakkhu* or the spiritual eye, which is stil dim, he has gained glimpses of higher levels of

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12. sdyyathā pi, Rādha, kumārakā vā kumārikāyo vā paṃsvāgaṛakehi kīlanti. yāvakīvañca tesu paṃsvāgārakesu avigatarāgā honti avigatacchandā avigatapemā avigatapipāsā avigatapariḷāhā avigatataṇhā tāva tāni paṃsvāgārakāni allīyanti kelāyanti dhanāyanti mamāyanti yato ca kho, Rādha, kumārakā vā kumarikāyo vā tesu paṃsvāgārakesu vigatarāgā honti... vigatataṇhā, atha kho tāni paṃsvāgārakāni hatthehi ca pādehi ca vikiranti vidhamanti vlddhaṃsenti vikilaniyaṃ karonti.

Saṃyuttanikāya, Vol. p. 403.

13. Om maṇi padme hum.

happiness. So he makes earnest efforts for their attainment. He attains them one by one. At every new stage he enjoys happiness sweeter than at the lower stage. This is the urge that sustains his efforts and keeps him on the path. Once he has attained the *ariya-bhūmi*, there is smooth sailing for him. He is destined to attain the final goal of *Nibbāna* in due course.[14]

With the realisation of *Nibbāna* all his efforts come to an end. It is the perfection and fulfilment of life. The mystery of the universe has been revealed. But the nature of *Nibbāna* which is also the supreme happiness is indescribable. It is a matter for self-realisation. Therefore when questions are put to him on it, the perfect saint observes noble silence (ariyo tuṇhibhāvo). The earnest seeker after truth understands the meaning of this silence. He too treads the path with full confidence waiting for the great moment.

14. niyato sambodhi-parāyaṇo.

LAKṢAṆA, "GRAMMATICAL RULE"

SERGIU AL-GEORGE

The Sanskrit substantive *lakṣaṇa* has many semantic values, all of them being derived from the main meaning, "characteristic sign", "distinguishing mark", "indication". Thus, for instance, in ritual literature *lakṣaṇa* designates "catch-word", "lines drawn on the sacrificial area", in astrology "auspicious mark", in medicine "symptom of a disease", in iconography "indicative attribute of a divinity", in logic "definition" ; in the grammatical terminology, among other things, it designates "grammatical rule". The first occurrence of this technical meaning is to be found in *Ṛkprātiśākhya* XIII,31[1], being employed at large in the post-Pāṇinian literature. In contradistinction to the above mentioned technical employments of the word *lakṣaṇa*, the grammatical one requires some explanations, being not self-evident.

In attempting to solve the equation *lakṣaṇa*= grammatical rule, the modern exegesis quotes, without further explanations, the famous Patañjali's gloss in his introduction to *Mahābhāṣya* (after *vārttika* 14), where he states *śabdo lakṣyaḥ sūtraṁ lakṣaṇam*, "the word is the object of rule (lit. "the signified object"), the *sūtra* [of Pāṇini] is the rule (lit. "the sign")" ; this statement, however, does not provide the reasons of the semantic change by which the grammatical rule is assimilated to the significative structure which detains a central posi-

1. L. Renou, Les connexions entre le rituel et la grammaire en sanscrit, *Journal Asiatique*, 233, 1941-42 (1945), p. 128

tion in Indian logic. Two different logical operations-the definition (*lakṣaṇa*) and the inferential reasonment (*anumāna*)—are considered by Hindu logicians to belong to the significative relation. Both of them are viewed of being a mediate knowledge, a deductive cognition from antecedent to consequent ; the sign is the antecedent and its admittance entails that of the consequent—the signified. Thus the Indian definition, where the definiens is called *lakṣaṇa* (name which extended to the whole definitional process), is not a mere "characterisation", as usually given in Western translations, but a semiotic act. The definiens *lakṣaṇa* is synonymous with *liṅga* which qualifies the logical reason in *anumāna*, the inferential reasonment : e.g., the existence of the smoke is the "sign", *liṅga*, of the existence of the fire. "Pervasion" (*vyāpti*) is the common relation—according to Indian logic—at the basis of inferential reasoning and definition as well[2].

We are going to attempt an explanation of the fact that in grammatical terminology "grammatical rule" is

2. Th. Stcherbatsky, *Buddhist Logic* ; I, Leningrad, 1932, p. 146, points out that in Indian logic the definition is an "abridged" or a "defective" inference ; D.H.H. Ingalls, *Materials for the Study of Nāvya-Nyāya Logic*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1951, p. 81, further remarks that the three fallacies of the definition in Nyāya (*ativyāpti*, "overpervasion", *avyāpti*, "non-pervasion" and *asaṁbhava*, "impossibility") "are essentially the same as the traditional *hetvābhāsa's* or fallacies of the *hetu*" ; cf. also B.K. Motilal, The intensional character of *lakṣaṇa* and *saṁkara* in Navya Nyāya, *Indo-Iranian Journal*, 1964, 2, p. 86 : <<In each case of a true definition, it will be possible to formulate a sort of miniature syllogistic inference, of the form : ' A (is) B, because C", where the definiendum will occupy the subject position (*pakṣa*), "distinct from others" will be the *sādhya*, and the definiens will be the *hetu*>>.

equated to "sign", by starting from the fact that Indian thought implicitly admits that the deductive relation between sign and signified may integrate distinct logical operations, being more comprehensive than them. According to the Indian point of view, the significative relation is the most general consequence they conceived along similar lines to those developed by the European Mediaeval Logic ; William of Ockham admitted as valid logical consequence (*consequentia bona*), and therefore as equivalent to conditional propositions, the consequence "from a definition to definiendum" (*a diffinitione ad diffinitum*)[3]. What is revelatory for our inquiry is the fact that the Indian traditional grammar is resorting to this general relation—anticipating the logicians—in analyzing the structural relations of the language.

Staal deserves the merit of having been the first to discuss the affinity and even the filiation existing between the grammatical rule and the logical definition in India,[4] but his inquiry—otherwise prefatory—does not make any reference to the general context of the significative relation. The Dutch scholar deals with only one of the three categories under which Pāṇini's *sūtras* fall, namely with definitional rules (*saṁjñāsūtras*) of the grammatical technical terms ; although he is referring, too, to the category of the *paribhāṣā sūtras,* metarules concerning the interpretative technique of the other rules (definitional

3. Cf. A. Dumitriu, *Istoria Logicii*, Bucharest, 1969, p. 405, where other types of valid consequences are quoted : "*A proprietate ad proprium*", "*Ab uno synonimo ad aliud*" etc. which have not been accepted by the mathematical logic.

4. The theory of definition in Indian logic, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 1961, 81, p. 122-124.

and descriptive rules concerning the formation of speech units), pointing out their logical value, he does not provide a direct explanation of the fact that not only the actual definitional rules but the other two kinds of rules are called *lakṣaṇa* ; Staal's paper remains, however, highly suggestive in this respect. Motilal, in referring to Staal's paper, adds that <<the scheme for a *saṁjñā* roughly corresponds to the notion "nominal or syntactical definition" of modern formal logicians. Such definitions are explained as "conventions which provide that certain symbols or expressions shall stand (as substitutes or abbreviations) for particular formulas of the system>>"[5].

Even if we were to retain only the denominative aspect of the *saṁjñā* rules, it must be admitted that the nominal definition itself, the same as a definition based on a distinguishing mark, contains an analytical relation ; the only difference is that in the denominative definition the analytical relation is conventionally established, whereas in the one based on a distinguishing mark it is pre-existent. The denominative definition implies a semiosis, since the technical term "stands for", being an indirect mark of a reality ; every proposition derived from such a definition is an analytical one or a "tautology". It is worth recalling here that, according to the greatest logician of India, Dignāga, the name may be viewed as a logical reason (*hetu, liṅga*) through which its object is cognized ; in summarizing Dignāga's doctrine, Stcherbatsky states that the respective relation "is founded on identity of objective reference, the deduction is analytical and the three aspects of the reason are realized ; e.g. : 1) This object is called a jar, 2) Wherever such objects are

5. *Ibid.*, p. 85, note 1

found they are called jars, 3) This name is never applied to a non-jar"[6]. The fact must be added that the *saṁjñā* rules beyond their purely nominal shape—as Vidya Niwas Misra minutely analyzed—are pointing at definite categories of hierarchical relations existing between the structural units of the language[7].

Reasons enabling to justify the qualification of *lakṣaṇa* not only for the definitional rules, but for other types of Pāṇini's *sūtra* may be provided by the various acceptations of the word *lakṣaṇa* in Pāṇini's own text. The great Indian grammarian uses the word *lakṣaṇa* when dealing with some infra-lexical (the unilateral dependence of a suffix on its function) and syntactical relations[8]. Among the devices of syntactically expressing the sign-signified relations, Pāṇini indicates some conditional subordinations (III, 3, 8-9), the absolute constructions of the locative (II, 3, 37) and the genitive (II, 3, 38), the present active and medium participle (III, 2, 126) ; by establishing syntactical equivalents, Pāṇini is assigning the same value to some units of the simple propositions, as for instance to certain propositions of the *karmapravacanīya* group (I, 4, 84 ; I, 4, 90-91), to some invariable compounds made up by some of them (II, 1, 14-16) and to the suffixes of the instrumental case (II, 3, 21). In all these subordinations the content of the protasis or its equivalent is called *lakṣaṇa*, "sign", because it is expressing

6. *Ibid.*, p. 459.

7. *The descriptive technique of Pāṇini*, The Hague-Paris, 1966, pp. 84-101.

8. This problem has been discussed more fully in our paper, Sign (*lakṣaṇa*) and propositional logic in Pāṇini, *East and West*, 1969, 19, pp. 176-193.

an antecedent of the content expressed by the main clause.

One of the above mentioned constructions, frequently present even in the framework of Aṣṭhādhyāī's *sūtras*, is that of the absolute locative. Because of the abridged style of the treatise, the absolute construction does not appear in its normal condition - a participle accompanying a name—but under an incomplete form ; either the name is missing, and only the participle is present (e. g., II, 3, 1) or the name alone is present, the participle to be supplied being *sati* (the present participle of the verb *AS*, "to be", e. g., I, 4, 23) ; at other times the two terms of the absolute locative construction are well-fused, the latter only being in the locative (e. g., III, 3, 144). The absolute value of the locative with Pāṇini is the same as in the nominal style of the technical texts[9], that of a conditional subordinate, and it expresses the conditions indicating a certain grammatical or metagrammatical operation. Patañjali calls this locative *viṣayasaptamī*, "field locative", "locative of the sphere (of validity)", in contradistinction to *parasaptamī*, "locative of the following one", which marks a word indicating that the preceding one is to be substituted, as stipulated in the metarule I, 1, 66.

The *viṣayasaptamī* of the grammatical operations is the most used, mainly in the operations leading to the generation of the expression units, when a transition is

9. H. Jacobi, Über den Nominalstil des wissenschaftlichen Sanskrit, *Indo-germanische Forschungen*, 14, 1903, p. 244 : "die Verwendung des Lokativus zur Umschreibung von Konditional und Konzessivsätzen von dem Gebrauch des Lokativus absolutus ausgegangen ist".

made from the abstract to concrete plane : the locative marks units of the content or grammatical functions, "terms of the higher strata",[10] for the expression of which concrete units in the expression chain are indicated. These rules have the general form, "When A is to be expressed, then A' is valid (or indicated)". The *viṣayasaptamī* of the metagrammatical operations, that of the *paribhāṣās*, marks the indication of an operation in interpreting and applying a grammatical rule. It is worth of notice the frequent occurrence of this syntactical construction in the oldest axiomatic syntax of the *paribhāṣās* : Over a third of the *paribhāṣās* list—as given by Nāgojìbhaṭṭa—resort to this syntactic form. Both kinds of rules either grammatical or metagrammatical shaped with *viṣayasaptamī* are the best illustration of the rule II, 3, 37, (*yasya ca bhāvena bhāvalakṣaṇam*), where Pāṇini states that "[the seventh suffix (=the locative) is indicated when there is to be expressed] too, that by the action of which another action is signified". The fact that a grammatical rule may be illustrated even by the grammatical structure of a rule is but supporting the discovery of the transformational grammar that " a linguistic 'structure' is relative not just to the data or corpus, but also to grammatical theory describing the data".[11]) ; for Pāṇini, as well for the transformational grammar, grammar was a grammar of rules and language was confused with the language of rules.

The logical value of the locactive absolute—qualified as sign-becomes more evident when confronted with its

10. V.N. Misra, op. cit., p. 103.

11. E. Batch, ***An introduction to transformational grammar***, New York, 1966, p. 29.

role in the syntax of the logical texts. This grammatical form is very frequently resorted to when definitions are formulated, and it expresses the definiens which, according to Indian logic, is a distinguishing mark (*lakṣaṇa*); this stylistic value of the locative was remarked by Indian logicians themselves[12]. The same, the locative absolute may express the logical antecedent in the rule stating the unilateral dependence (*vyāpti*) between the sign and the signified, dependence on which the inferential reasoning (*anumāna*) is based; thus, the general rule "whenever there is no fire, there is no smoke" may be formulated either *yatra vahnir nāsti tatra dhūmo-'pi nāsti*—the protasis being a relative subordinate—or *agnyabhāve dhūmo'pi nāsti*—the protasis being a locative absolute. Accordingly, the locative absolute appears as a syntactical equivalent to the relative subordinate when expressing the protasis of a logical rule.

The above established comparisons between the syntactical structure of the grammatical rule and that of the two logical operations—viewed by Indian logicians as deductive operations based on a significative relation—as well as the logical value of the word *lakṣaṇa* in Pāṇini—are able to give the clue to the equation : *lakṣaṇa*=grammatical rule. Accordingly, the word *lakṣaṇa* when assigned to the grammatical rule must be taken in its

12. The *Nyāyabodhinī* in commenting on *Tarkasaṁgraha* 9, where the definition of the air is given (*rūparahitatve sati sparśavattvaṃ vāyor lakṣaṇam*, absence of colour existing, the fact of possessing a touch, this is the definition of the air') explains : *satisaptamyā viśiṣṭārthakatayā rūparahitatvaviśiṣṭasparśavattvaṃ vāyor lakṣaṇam*, "since the locative absolute has a qualifying meaning, the fact of possessing a touch qualified by the absence of colour, gives the definition of the air".

logical sense ; the most suitable translation is *indicium*, "indication", "criterion", instead of "characterisation" which is rather ambiguous, because it suggests a mere descriptive operation.

The same as the Stoics considered both the validity of the premiss and the revelation of the conclusion as being a derivation from sign to signified,[13] the Indian traditional grammar qualifies both the internal relations between the elements of a rule and the relation between the rule itself and the linguistic form it generates as a relation from sign to signified. The grammatical rule expresses relations of an analytical nature enabling operations of building correct language forms, in the same way as a logical rule can be the main premiss which enables the operation of deducting a valid conclusion.

The above discussion brings into foreground one important fact : in contrast with the Greeks, the Indians qualified as semiosis not only the application of the condition of validity in logical operations, but in the linguistic ones as well ; thus they opend the largest perspective in order to understand the oneness of the linguistic and logical structures. As for the antecedence of the grammatical rule against the logical rules or laws— as it is supported by some modern logicians, namely that logical laws are but instances of grammatical rules— the Indian cultural context is revelatory, because this antecedence is here historically attested.

13. *Sextus Empiricus*, transl. by R.G. Burry, Cambridge (Mass.), 1957, pp. 259 and 367.

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13 Sextus Empiricus, transl. by R.G. Bury, Cambridge (Mass.), 1957, pp. 259 and 357.

काव्यकारणसमालोचनम्

गोपराजु राम

प्रयाग

सर्वस्यापि कार्यस्य कारणं किञ्चिन्निश्चितरूपेण भवत्येवेति सर्वशास्त्रसिद्धान्तः। कारणमन्तरा कार्यं नैवोत्पत्तुं शक्नोति नवोत्पादयितुमपि। अत एवोक्तम्—

[1]"कार्यनियतपूर्ववर्तिकारणमिति।

तच्च कारणं समवाय्यसमवायिनिमित्तभेदेन त्रिविधम्। एतच्च कारणत्रयं सर्वस्यापि कार्यस्यावश्यमपेक्षितमिति तेनैव प्रकारेण काव्यरूपकार्यस्यापि कारणत्रयमेतदपेक्षते।

यथा घटे मृत्तिका समवायिकारणम्, मृत्पिण्डसंयोगोऽसमवायिकारणम्, दण्डचक्रसलिलानि च निमित्तकारणानि तथा काव्यरूपकार्यस्यापि किञ्चित् समवायिकारणम्, किञ्चिदसमवायिकारणम्, किञ्चिच्च निमित्तकारणं स्वीकर्तव्यमिति निश्चेतुं यद्यपि प्रकृतशास्त्रकारैः स्पष्टतया प्रकाशो न दत्तस्तथापि पुरा कार्यस्वरूपं निभालनीयं भवति। यथा प्रत्यक्षानुमानादिज्ञानरूपकार्याणां तादृश्येव कारणानि तथैव काव्यरूप (ज्ञानात्मक) कार्यस्य शब्दार्थसामग्रीज्ञानं समवायिकारणम् सामग्रीसंयोजनमसमवायिकारणम्, अदृष्टादिकश्च निमितकारणमिति निर्धारयितुं शक्यत इति साम्प्रदायिकाः।

यद्यप्यनन्यपरतन्त्रामिति नियतिकृतेत्यादिकारिकास्थपदेन परमाण्वाद्युपादान कर्मादि-सहकारिकारणपरतंत्रामिति ब्रह्मनिर्मिते-रनौत्कृष्टय-सूचिकया वृत्त्या च काव्यस्यैतत्त्रितयकारणशून्यत्वं व्यज्यते। कवेरन्यस्य परतन्त्राधीना नेति तदर्थात् काव्याधीनत्वमागतमेव। एवंच कविगतानां तेषां तत्तत्कारणत्वस्वीकारे न काप्यनुपपत्तिः। सर्वथा समवाय्यादिलक्षणानाक्रान्तत्वेऽपि तथोपपादनमलौकिकत्वमभिव्यनक्ति। तच्च रसवद् भूषणमेव न दूषणम्। शक्तिर्निपुणतेत्यादि कारिकयापि कवित्वबीजरूपसंस्कारविशेषादीनां कारणत्वोक्तिरप्युभयमर्थं द्रढयति।

काव्यशास्त्रेऽस्मिन् काव्यस्य कारणानि प्रतिभा व्युत्पत्तिरभ्यासश्च स्वीकृतानि। प्रायः सर्वैरप्याचार्यैः प्रतिभाव्युत्पत्यभ्यासानां काव्यं प्रति कारणत्वमुक्तम्।

1. तर्कसङ्ग्रहः प्र० ३, सू २४।

तत्रादौ भामहाचार्येण काव्यस्य कारणं ब्रुवता—
[2]"काव्यं तु जायते जातु कस्यचित् प्रतिभावतः"
[3]"शब्दाभिधेये विज्ञाय कृत्वा तद्विदुपासनाम् ।
विलोक्यान्यनिबन्धांश्च कार्यः काव्यक्रियादरः ॥"

इत्युक्तम् ।

एषां मते काव्यसंपदः प्रतिभा, शब्दार्थज्ञानं, काव्यज्ञोपासनं, काव्यपाठनं चेति कारणानि । एषु कारणेषु प्रतिभाया एव प्राधान्यम् । अन्येषां चाप्रधानकारणत्वम् । शब्दार्थज्ञानप्रतिभयोः सत्वे काव्यज्ञोपासनकाव्यपाठनासत्वे प्रकारान्तरेणाभ्याससत्वे च काव्यसमुद्भवदर्शनात ।

श्रीमद्दण्डयाचार्याणां मते नैसर्गिकी प्रतिभा, निर्मलं बहुश्रुतम्, अमन्दश्चाभियोगः इति त्रयं काव्यसंपदः कारणम् ।

अत एवोक्तम् —

[4]"नैसर्गिकी च प्रतिभा श्रुतं च बहुनिर्मलम् ।
अमन्दश्चाभियोगोऽस्याः कारणं काव्यसंपदः" इति ।
वागुपासना श्रुतेन यत्नेन च कर्तव्यताया कारणपाटवं

साधयति । अत एवोक्तम्—

[5]"न विद्यते यद्यपि पूर्ववासना
गुणानुबन्धि प्रतिभानमद्भुतम् ।
श्रुतेन यत्नेन च वागुपासिता
ध्रुवं करोत्येव कमप्यनुग्रहम् ॥" इति

अत्र भामहाचार्येण यदुक्तं "प्रतिभावतः" इति तदेव दण्डिना नैसर्गिकीप्रतिभेति" प्रतिपादितम् । भामहेन काव्यज्ञोपासनं काव्यस्य पाठनं चेति ये द्वे कारणे उक्ते दण्डिना त एव "श्रुतेन यत्नेन च वागुपासिता" इत्यनेन प्रतिपादिते । शब्दार्थज्ञानमेव "निर्मलं बहुश्रुत" मिति प्रतिपादितम् ।

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2. भामहविरचितकाव्यालङ्कारः प्र० परि० श्लो ५ ।
3. „ „ प्र० परि० श्लो १० ।
4. काव्यादर्शः प्र० परि श्लो १०३ ।
5. „ „ „ १०४ ।

भामहः	दण्डी
प्रतिभा	नैसर्गिकीप्रतिभा
शब्दार्थज्ञानम्	बहुनिर्मलं श्रुतम्
काव्यज्ञोपासनम् काव्यपाठनम्	श्रुतेन यत्नेन च वागुपासनम्

वामनाचार्येण स्वालङ्कारसूत्रवृत्तौ काव्यकारणान्येव काव्याङ्गत्वेन व्यवहृतानि । अत एवोक्तम्—

[6]"लोको विद्या प्रकीर्णं च काव्याङ्गानीति ।"

भामहदण्डिभ्यामुपात्तकारणेभ्योऽतिरिक्तं लोकमित्याख्यं कारणं वामनेन नवीनतयोपात्तम् । विद्याया काव्यं प्रति कारणत्वं न स्वातन्त्र्येण वामन उक्तवान् अपि तु दण्डिना "बहुनिर्मलं श्रुतमिति यदुक्तं तदेव प्रकारान्तरेण वामनेन विद्याशब्देनोक्तम् ।

[7]"शब्दस्मृत्यभिधानकोशच्छन्दोविचितिकलाकामशास्त्रदण्डनीतिपूर्वा विद्याः" इति

प्रकीर्णरूपं काव्यस्य कारणं "काव्यज्ञोपासन" मिति भामहोक्तमेव प्रकारान्तरेणोक्तम् । एवं च वामनाचार्यस्य तत्पूर्ववर्त्याचार्ययोः मतेषु च काव्यस्य कारणान्येवं वर्तन्ते । तथाहि ।

भामहः	दण्डी	वामनः
प्रतिभा	नैसर्गिकीप्रतिभा	प्रतिभानम्
शब्दार्थज्ञानम्	बहुनिर्मलं श्रुतम्	विद्या
काव्यज्ञोपसनम् काव्यपाठनम्	श्रुतेन यत्नेन च वागुपासनम्	प्रकीर्णम्

वामनेन तु प्रतिभा काव्यकारणत्वेन नोपन्यस्ता ।

[8]"कवित्वबीजं प्रतिभानमिति" ।

रुद्रटाचार्येण भामहोक्तान्येव कारणानि संक्षिप्याभिहितानि अत एवोक्तम्—

[9]"त्रितयमिदं व्याप्रियते शक्तिर्व्युत्पत्तिरभ्यासः" इति ।

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6. काव्यालङ्कारसूत्रवृत्तिः अधि० १, अध्या ३, सू १ ।
7. काव्यालङ्कारसूत्रवृत्तिः अधि० ३, अध्या ३, सू ३ ।
8. „ „ अधि १, अध्या ३, सू १६ ।
9. रुद्रटकृतकाव्यालङ्कारः प्र० अध्या, श्लो १४ ।

एभिः शक्तिव्युत्पत्यभ्यासानां काव्यं प्रति कारणत्वं व्यवस्थापितम्। भामहाचार्येण यदुक्तं प्रतिभेति तदेव शक्तिपदेनात्र व्यवहृता। शब्दार्थज्ञानमिति यदुक्तं तदेवाभ्यासपदेन प्रतिपादितम्। एवं च रुद्रटाचार्येण किमपि नवीनं स्वोपज्ञं कारणं न प्रतिपादितमिति सिध्यति।

भामहः	रुद्रटः	दण्डी
प्रतिभा	शक्तिः	नैसर्गिकी प्रतिभा
शब्दार्थज्ञानम्	व्युत्पत्तिः	बहुनिर्मलं श्रुतम्
काव्यज्ञोपासनम् काव्यस्य पाठनम्	अभ्यासः	श्रुतेन यत्नेन च वागुपासनम्

महिमभट्टेन प्रतिभैव काव्यं प्रति कारणमित्युक्तम्।

[10]"रसानुगुणशब्दार्थचिन्तास्तिमितचेतसः ।
क्षणं स्वरूपस्पर्शोत्था प्रज्ञैव प्रतिभा कवेः ॥" इति।

एवं स्थिते सति मम्मटः काव्यस्य कारणं प्रतिभा(शक्तिः) व्युत्पत्तिः (निपुणता) अभ्यासश्चेति प्रतिपादितवान्। अत एवोक्तम्—

[11]"शक्तिर्निपुणता लोकशास्त्रकाव्याद्यवेक्षणात्।
काव्यज्ञशिक्षयाभ्यास इति हेतुस्तदुद्भवे"॥ इति।

शक्तिर्निपुणता अभ्यासश्च काव्यं प्रति हेतुः। शक्तयादीनां त्रित्वसंख्याविशिष्टत्वेऽपि "हेतु" रित्येकवचनोपादानं कार्योत्पादप्रयोजकतावच्छेदकसमुदायत्वावच्छिन्नपरम्। हेतुपदमिति बोधनायाः। अन्यथा विशेष्यविशेषणवाचकपदयोरसति विशेषानुशासने समानवाचकत्व-नियमादिति बलेन "हेतव" इति भाष्यम्।

कारणान्येतानि भामहरुद्रटोक्तान्येव। तथाहि

भामहेन यत् प्रतिभेत्युक्तं तदेव रुद्रटेन शक्तिरिति मम्मटेनापि सैव शक्तिरिति कारणत्वेन स्वीकृता।

भामहेन शब्दार्थज्ञानं यत् कारणमुक्तम् तदेव मम्मटेन निपुणता पदेनोक्तम्।

काव्यज्ञोपदेशः काव्यस्य पाठनमिति यदुक्तं भामहेन, तदेव रुद्रटेनाभ्यास पदेनोक्तम्। मम्मटेन तु "काव्यज्ञक्षियाभ्यास' इति।

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10. व्यक्तिविवेकः द्वि० वि० श्लो ११७–१८ (उद्धरणम्)।

11. काव्यप्रकाशः का० ३।

भामहः	रुद्रटः	मम्मटः
प्रतिभा	शक्तिः	शक्तिः
शब्दार्थज्ञानम्	व्युत्पत्तिः	लोकशास्त्रकाव्याद्यवेक्षणान्निपुणता
काव्यज्ञोपासनम्, काव्यपाठनम्	अभ्यासः	काव्यज्ञशिक्षयाभ्यासः

लोकशास्त्रकाव्याद्यवेक्षणान्निपुणतैव व्युत्पत्तिपदपर्यायः । अत एवोक्तं काव्यप्रकाशविवेके श्रीधरेण—

[12]"निपुणता युक्तायुक्तविवेक" इत्यर्थः । सैवात्र व्युत्पत्तिपदेनोक्ता" इति । एवञ्च मम्मटाचार्येण भामहरुद्रटोक्तानि कारणानि कारिकयोपनिबद्धानि । रुद्रटोक्तानि तान्येव वृत्तावुपनिबद्धानीति सिद्धम् ।

[13]वामनेन "कवित्वबीजं प्रतिभानमिति यदुक्तं तदेव मम्मटेन शक्तिपदेन स्वीकृतम् । अत एवोक्तम्—[14]"शक्तिः कवित्वबीजरूपः संस्कारविशेष" इति ।

ध्वन्यालोके यदुक्तं शक्तिरेव व्युत्पत्तिरूपात् कारणात् प्रधानमिति तदपि वृत्तावुपनिबद्धम् । तथाहि ।

[15]"अव्युत्पत्तिकृतो दोषः शक्त्या संव्रियते कवेः ।
यस्त्वशक्तिकृतस्तस्य स झटित्येव भासते ॥"इति ध्वन्यालोके यदुक्तं तदेव मम्मटेन[16]"यां विना काव्यं न प्रसरेत् प्रसृतं वोपहसनीयं स्यादित्युक्तम् ।

वामनेन यदुक्तं "लोको विद्या प्रकीर्णञ्च काव्याङ्गानीति तदत्र निपुणता-पदव्याख्यावसरे स्वीकृतम् ।

वामनेन "लोकवृत्तं लोकः" इति यदुक्तं तदेव मम्मटेन "लोकस्य स्थावर जङ्गमात्मकलोकवृत्तस्येति स्वीकृतम् ।

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12. काव्यप्रकाशः (श्रीधरकृतविवेकटीकोपेतः) पृ० ७ ।
13. काव्यालङ्कारसूत्रवृत्तिः अधि० १, अध्या ३, सू १६ ।
14. काव्यप्रकाशः का ३ गतवृत्तिः ।
15. ध्वन्यालोकः पृ० २७१ ।
16. काव्यालङ्कारसूत्रवृत्तिः अधि० १, अध्या० ३, सू २ ।
17. " अधि० १, अध्या ३ सू १ ।
18. काव्यप्रकाशः का ३ गतवृत्तिः ।

वामनेन[19] छन्दोविचितिकलाकामशास्त्रदण्डनीतिपूर्वा विद्या' इति यदुक्तं तदेव मम्मटेन [20] "छन्दोव्याकरणाभिधानकोशकलाचतुर्वर्गगजतुरगखड्गादिलक्षणग्रन्थानां काव्यानां च महाकविसंबन्धिनां आदिग्रहणादितिहासादीनां च व्युत्पत्तिरित्युक्तम् ।

वामनेन यदुक्तं "लक्ष्यज्ञत्वमभियोगो वृद्धसेवावेक्षणं प्रतिभानमवधानंच प्रकीर्णमिति तदेव मम्मटेन "काव्यं कर्तुं विचारयितुं च ये जानन्ति तदुपदेशेन करणे योजने च पौनःपुन्येन प्रवृत्तिरिति वाक्येन प्रतिपादितम् ।

एवञ्च वामनोक्तामपि कारणसामग्रीं मम्मटः स्वीकृतवान् । तथाहि ।

मम्मटः	वामनः आनन्दवर्धनश्च
शक्तिः, कवित्वबीजरूपः	कवित्वबीजं प्रतिभानम्
यां विना काव्यं न प्रसरेत् प्रसृतं वोपहसनीयं स्यात्	अव्युत्पत्तिकृतोदोषः शक्त्या संव्रियते कवेः । यस्त्वशक्तिकृतस्तस्य स झटित्येव भासते ॥
लोकस्य स्थावरजङ्गमात्मक लोकवृत्तस्य	लोकवृत्तं लोकः
छन्दोव्याकरणाभिधानकोश कलाचतुर्वर्गगजतुरगादि लक्षणग्रन्थानां विमर्शनाद् व्युत्पत्तिः	छन्दोविचितिकलाकाम–शास्त्रदण्डनीतिपूर्वाः विद्याः

आनन्दवर्धनाचार्येणापि प्रतिभा एव कारणमित्युक्तम् । उक्तञ्च व्युत्पत्तेस्तु काव्यं प्रति कारणत्वं परन्तु सर्वथा अप्राधान्येन । अत एवोक्तम् ।

[21] "अव्युत्पत्तिकृतो दोषः शक्त्या संव्रियते कवेः ।
यस्त्वशक्तिकृतस्तस्य स झटित्येव भासते ॥" इति ।

कवेः प्रतिभा यदि स्यात् तदा स्वेच्छानुसारेण काव्यरचनापि सम्पद्यते । अत एवोक्तमानन्दवर्धनाचार्येण ध्वन्यालोके–

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19. काव्यालङ्कारसूत्रवृत्तिः अधि १, अध्या ३, सू ३ ।
20. काव्यप्रकाशः का० ३ गतवृत्तिः ।
21. ध्वन्यालोकः पृ २७१ ।

[22]'अपारे काव्यसंसारे कविरेकः प्रजापतिः ।
यथास्मै रोचते विश्वं तथेदं परिवर्तते ॥
शृङ्गारी चेत् कविः काव्यं सर्वं रसमयं जगत् ।
स चेत् कविर्वीतरागः नीरसं सर्वमेव तत् ॥" इति ।

एतदेव व्याख्यातं चाभिनवगुप्ताचार्यपादैर्लोचने "प्रतिभा अपूर्ववस्तुनिर्माणक्षमा प्रज्ञा तस्य विशेषो रसावेशवैशद्यसौन्दर्यकाव्यनिर्माणक्षमत्वम् । शक्तिः प्रतिभानम्, वर्णनीयवस्तुविषयभूतनोल्लेखशालित्वम्" इति ।

यायावरीयमतेऽपि प्रतिभाया एव काव्यस्य कारणत्वं व्यवस्थापितम् । अत एव राजशेखरेण काव्यमीमांसायामुक्तम्—

[23]"सा (शक्तिः) केवलं काव्ये हेतुरिति यायावरीयः । शक्तिकर्तृके हि प्रतिभाव्युत्पत्तिकर्मणी । शक्तस्य प्रतिभाति । शक्तश्चव्युत्पद्यत" इति ।

एवञ्च केवलैककारणवादिनो वाग्भटः, आनन्दवर्धनः, भट्टनायकः, महिमभट्टः, यायावरीयश्च सन्ति ।

शक्तिः	व्युत्पत्तिः	अभ्यासः
भामहः	भामहः	भामहः
दण्डी	दण्डी	दण्डी
रुद्रटः	रुद्रटः	रुद्रटः
वामनः	वामनः	वामनः
राजशेखरः	....	....
आनन्दवर्धनः	....	....
भट्टनायकः	....	....
वाग्भटः	......	....
महिमभट्टः	......	....
मम्मटः	मम्मटः	मम्मटः

भामहादारभ्य मम्मटाचार्यपर्यन्तं शक्तिव्युत्पत्यभ्यासानां काव्यं प्रति कारणत्वं प्रायः सर्वैः स्वीकृतम् । परन्तु त्रयाणां मिलित्वा कारणत्वमुत पृथक्त्वेनेति संशये दण्डिनं

22. ,, पृ. ५५१ ।
23. काव्यमीमांसा पृ० ४ ।

विना न कोऽपि मम्मटात्प्राक्तनाचार्यः निगदितवान् । अत एवोक्तं दण्डिना—[24]"कारणं काव्यसंपदः "इति ।

व्याख्यातश्च एतद्विवृतौ जीवानन्दभट्टाचार्यैः–[25]एतत्त्रयमस्याः काव्यसंपदः काव्यरूपायाः संपत्तेः कारणं हेतुः कारणमित्येकवचननिर्देशने समस्तस्यैव कारणता न तु व्यस्तस्येति सूचितम् ।

मम्मटेनापि तदेव मतमनुसरता प्रतिपादितम्—[26]"इति हेतुस्तदुद्भवे" इति ।

मम्मटः	दण्डी
इति हेतुस्तदुद्भवे	कारणं काव्यसंपदः

भीमसेनदीक्षितैरत्र त्रयाणां मिलित्वा काव्यं प्रति कारणत्वं स्वप्रतिभया प्रकारान्तरेण समर्थितम् । तैः यथा घटनिर्माणे कारणान्येकदैवापेक्षितानि न तथा काव्यनिर्माण इति व्यवस्थापितमिति प्रतीयते । अतएवोक्तम्—

[27]"एवं स्वरूपादीनां स्वरूपत्वप्रयोजकत्वयोः पार्थक्यमपि रसोद्बोधजनक ज्ञानविषयतावच्छिन्नकाव्यस्य मिलितानामेव फलोपहितत्वमिति प्रतिभावद्भिः सूक्ष्मदृशावधातव्यम् ।

देवदत्तेन बाल्यावस्थायां कृतं काव्यं सहृदयेतरानुपहसनीयम् । निपुणतावशाद्यौवनावस्थायां कृतं काव्यं साधारणैः श्लाध्यं जातम् । इदानीं प्रौढावस्थायां शक्तिनिपुणताभ्यासवशात् सहृदयव्यहरणीयं रसोद्बोधसमर्थं क्रियत इति व्यवहारेण त्रयाणां कारणतायाः सिद्धत्वात्" इति ।

श्रीधरेणापि शक्तिव्युत्पत्त्यभ्यासाः गोमयवृश्चिकवन्निमित्तभूतानि न भवन्ति, अपि तु मिलित्वैवेति व्यवस्थापितम्, किञ्च सूत्रे हेतुरिति एकवचनपदोपादानं मिलित्वा कारणं सूचयति । अत एवोक्तं तैः ।

[28]"तत्र किमेते शक्त्यादयो गोमयवृश्चिकवन्निमित्तभूयं भजन्ते नेत्याह । इति त्रयः संवलिता इति । अमुमेवार्थमाविर्भावयितुं हेतुरित्येकवचनम् " । इति ।

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24. काव्यादर्शः प्र० परि० श्लो १०३ ।
25. ,, पृ० ५४ ।
26. काव्यप्रकाशः का० ३ ।
27. काव्यप्रकाशः (सुधासागरीटीकासहितः) पृ० १६ ।
28. काव्यप्रकाशः (श्रीधरकृतविवेकटीकोपेतः) पृ० १० ।

सम्प्रदायप्रकाशिनीकारेण पुनः कारिकावृत्तिग्रन्थयोः सारांश एव निगदितः। मम्मटोक्तकारिकाग्रन्थवृत्तिग्रन्थयोः सारांशोऽयमेव वर्तते यत् शक्तिव्युत्पत्त्यभ्यासाः मिलित्वैव काव्यं प्रति कारणत्वं भजन्ते। अत एवोक्तं तैः–

[29]"शक्तिर्निपुणता अभ्यासः इति त्रयमेतत् सङ्घातवृत्ति। काव्यस्य हेतुरिति पिण्डितार्थः।

महेश्वरन्यायालङ्कारभट्टाचार्येण तु शक्तिः काव्यजनकपरं नेति व्याख्यातम्। शक्तिः काव्यनिर्माण-काव्यबोधोभयपरतया फलोपधायिका भवतीति तेषां तात्पर्यम्। अनेन शक्तेरुभयकारणत्वं व्यवस्थापितम्। अपि च हेतुरित्यत्र स्वरूपयोग्यत्वेन नैव व्याख्यातम्। किन्तु फलोपधायकपरत्वेन। अत एवोक्तं तैः–

[30]"इति त्रयः समुदिता इति। समुदायाश्रयैकवचनात् समुदायलाभः इति भावार्थः तदुद्भवपदं तन्निमर्णितदर्थबोधोभयपरतया व्याचष्टे। तस्य काव्यस्येति। उल्लासः तदर्थज्ञानम्। एवं च त्रयान्तर्गतायाः शक्तेरप्युभयकारणत्वमुक्तम्। तथा च शक्तिपदं न जनकशक्तिमात्रपरम्। हेतुः फलोपधायकः। न तु हेतवः प्रत्येकं फलोपधायका इत्यर्थः। अत्र तु न तु व्यस्ता इत्यत्र हेतव इत्यन्वये न तु हेतव इत्यत्र हेतुपदमधिकं स्यादतो न तु व्यस्ता इत्यत्र कारिकास्थेन इति शब्देन परामृष्टा इत्यध्याहृत्य तेनान्वये वाक्यभेदः संपद्यते। तथाच समुदिता एवेति शब्देन परामृष्टः, न तु व्यस्ताः प्रत्येकं परामृष्टाः। एतादृशपरामर्शफलमाह हेतुर्नतु हेतव "इति।

प्रदीपकारेणोद्भवपदं उत्कृष्टोत्पत्तिपरतया व्याख्यातम्। एभिर्यथा घटं प्रति दण्डचक्रसलिलानि मिलितानि कारणत्वं भजन्ते तथा काव्यं प्रति शक्तिव्युत्पत्त्यभ्यासाः मिलिताः सन्तः काव्यस्योत्कृष्टोत्पत्तौ कारणतां भजन्ते। अत एवोक्तम् तैः–

[31]"इति शब्दो मिलितोपस्थापनाय। अन्यथा तद्वैयर्थ्यमेव स्यात्। तथा च काव्यस्योद्भवः उत्कृष्टोत्पत्तिः, तया कार्येण मिलितानामुपाधानम्। दण्डचक्रादीनामिव घटेन। न तु मिलितत्वेन कारणतैवेति भ्रमः कार्यं।" इति उद्योतकारेणापीदमेव समर्थितम्।

[32]"मिलितस्य दण्डचक्रादीनामिव कारणत्वं, न तु तृणारणिमणिन्यायेनेति ध्वनयितुमेव हेतुरित्येकवचनम्।" इति।

एवं प्रकारेण काव्यकारणसामग्रीं संपाद्य तत एव कविः काव्यं कर्तुं प्रयत्नं कुर्यात्।

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29. काव्यप्रकाशः (सम्प्रदायप्रकाशिनी टीका सहितः पृ० ७।
30. काव्यप्रकाशः (महेश्वरन्यायालङ्कारकृतादर्शटीकोपेतः) पृ० १६।
31. काव्यप्रकाशः (प्रदीपोद्योतसमेतः) पृ. १६।
32. ,, ,, पृ. ८।

THE KUSHAN LEVELS AT SOME EXCAVATED SITES IN NORTH INDIA *

A. GHOSH
Simla

It is well-known that during Kushan times an immense number of Buddhist establishments sprang up in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent, not to speak of Afghanistan and other regions comprised in the vast kushan empire. In the heart of the Gangetic velley the notable centres were Mathurā, Ahicchatrā, Śrāvastī Kauśāmbī, Sāranātha, Kuśīnagara, etc., where either new monastic complexes came into being or existing ones were renovated and enlarged. They have already been adequately reported upon and will not be dealt with in this paper. The aim here is to examine the date from some selected city-sites in present-day India, which have been excavated within the last twenty-five to thirty years, omitting religious architecture etc., and concentrating on secular relics.

In order to decide which sites may be selected for the purpose, it is necessary to discuss in brief the probable extent of the Kushan empire in India. Mathurā was doubtless an important centre of the empire and it is reasonable to hold that the whole stretch of

* Read at the International Conference on the History, Archaeology and Culture of the Kushans held in Dushanbe, Tajikistan, U. S. S. R. in September-October 1968 and published here as the proceedings of the Conference are not likely to be out.

land from Taxila to Mathurā formed an important part of the empire without a wedge thrust in between by any independent principality. The Yaudheyas, an important tribe in east Panjab till the first century *B. C.*, as shown by their coins, might have had to shift themselves before the Kushan aggression to Rajasthan, where we probably find them by *A. D.* 150, at the time of the campaigns of Rudradāman, and again in *circa* 350, when Samudragupta was expanding his empire. The same temporary eclipse or annihilation was suffered by other Panjab tribes, such as the Audumbaras, Ārjunāyanas and Kuṇindas.[1]

East of Mathurā, the find of a sealing of Kaniṣka at Kauśāmbī makes the inclusion of the central Gangetic basin within his empire highly probable. Down the river, Pātaliputra may be given the benefit of doubt, as according to a confused Chinese tradition Kaniṣka defeated the ruler of the Kingdom of which Pāṭaliputra was the capital end obtained from him the poet-philoso. pher Aśvaghoṣa as ransom. The extent of that Kingdom at the time is not known.

I shall confine myself in this paper to some city-sites in the region thus defined. It is widely known that coins of the Kushans have been found beyond this region—in West Bengal and Orissa—but to me, and others

1. In the late second century *A. D.* the Yaudheyas issued a poor currency—Classes 3 and 4 of Allan—and established themselves again in the third and fourth centuries, John Allan, *Catalogue of coins of Ancient India* (British Museum, London, 1936), p. cliii. The Ārjunāyanas, Audumbaras and Kuṇindas issued coins towards the end of the first century *B. C.*, and the first and last reappear in the third and early fourth century *A. D.*, *ibid.*, pp. lxxxiii, lxxxiv and ci.

have said it before, such finds do not prove the spread of Kushan rule over such tracts : coins of the powerful Kushan dynasty must have had a wide circulation to augment the local currency or to fill the vacuum created by the absence of any such currency. Nor are sculptures produced in the workshops of Mathurā, dated in Kushan years and transported to different places, any sure indication that these places were under Kushan domination. For this reason Sānchī in central India, with its two Buddhist images dated in the times of Vaskuṣāṇa and Vāsaska should be left out of account. Other such places, viz. Kauśāmbī, Sāranātha, Śrāvastī and Ahicchatrā, are already covered by the above definition of the Kushan empire.

Also excluded should be the regions held by the Western Kṣatrapas, who, even if owing formal allegiance to the Kushans, led a viable existence and followed their own career of conquests and vicissitudes.

Even thus delimited, the Kushan empire comprised many cities in Panjab and the Gangetic basin. A few of them have been excavated, and out of them this paper will deal with Hastināpura in District Meerut and Ahicchatrā in District Bareilly, both in the upper Gangetic basin, Kauśāmbī in District Allahabad and Rājghāṭ, the site of ancient Vārāṇasī, both in the central Gangetic basin, and Kumrāhār, one of the sites of ancient Pāṭaliputra, in the lower Gangetic basin. Rūpaṛ in Distric Ambala, on the Sutlej, will be referred to only casually in the absence of a detailed published report on the excavation there.

Let it be said at once that none of these cites was exclusively Kushan in character. All of them had started much earlier and continued to be in occupation

till later than Kushan times. But each had levels contemporary with the Kushans, which for brevity's sake may be called the Kushan levels, without the implication that everything found therein owed its origin or was associated directly with the Kushans.

A supreme difficulty in the study of the Kushan levels of some of these cities arises out of the fact that the levels have not been isolated in the excavations there but have been included in wider Periods, with the result that the distinctive elements of the Kushan age may be hard to identify. Thus, at Rūpaṛ the Kushan level has been included in period IV of the site, which has been dated from 200 *B. C.* to *A. D.* 600 ; so also at Hastināpura, Period IV of which, inclusive of the Kushan level, has been dated from the early second century *B. C.* to the end of the third century *A. D.* At the other sites, however, the Kushan levels have been treated more or less as a distinct entity. At Ahicchatrā Stratum IV, mainly Kushan, has been placed from *A. D.* 100 to 300-350 ; at Kauśāmbī the corresponding level is Sub-period V and partly Sub-period VI of Period III, respectively dated from *A. D.* 25 to 100 and 100 to 175 ; at Rājghāṭ it is Period III, second to fourth century, but the latter part of the preceding period, II, *circa* second century *B. C.* to first century *A. D.*, may have to be taken into consideration.[2] At kumrāhār it is again Period III, *A. D.* 100 to 300. Everywhere the respective Period is marked by the occurrence of Kushan coins.

Of these sites, the structural evidence from Ahicchatrā seems to be very distinctive. In the main excava-

2. The periodization of Kauśāmbī and Rājghāṭ were later on revised in view of the discovery of earlier levels, but to avoid confusion I have followed here what has been given in the published reports.

ted area of the site Stratum IV was characterized by fine brickwork usually resting on a bed of rammed concrete and marked the most prosperous period of buildindg-activity in the city. At Kauśāmbī again, Sub-period V was marked by a great building-activity in the city-area, not to speak of the area of the Ghoṣitārāma monastery. At Kumrāhār, well within the *milieu* of secular buildings were two monasteries. A general feature of the structures of the Kushan levels was the use of large-sized bricks, the dimensions being : at Ahicchatrā, 18×12×2 in. ; at Kauśāmbī, 18 to 17.5×12×2.5 in. ; at Rājghāṭ, 19×11×2 in. ; and at Kumrāhār 18×12×2.5 in. Thus, there was a close uniformity brick-dimensions over a widely-dispersed area. The comprehensive Period IV of Hastināpura had as many as seven structural Sub-period, but it is not clear which of them was contemporary with the Kushans ; if it was the third one, which had the largest number of walls to its credit, it would conform to the evidence from Ahicchatrā and Kauśāmbī that the Kushan level was prosperous at least so far as buildings were concerned. The same uncertainty exists at Rūpaṛ as well.

The duration of the Kushan occupation of these cities is ill-defined. At Kauśāmbī, we are told, Sub-period VII, *A. D.* 175-250, was noted by the absence of Kushan coins and the exclusive occurrence of the coins of the Maghas, who succeeded the Kushans in this region. In the area of the defences of the same site, SP. IV. 19, *circa A. D.* 95 to 165, is stated to have ended in extensive conflagration and destruction, in which all the buildings were razed to the ground. SP IV. 20, 165 to 235, perhaps coinciding with the advent of the Maghas, seemed to represent a very important epoch in the life

of the city, when the height of the rampart was raised, the ground levelled and guard-rooms rebuilt. All the dates given by the excavator seem to be based on *A. D.* 78 as the starting-point of Kaniṣka's reign—a matter which has been discussed at length at this Conference.

Elsewhere the terminal date of the Kushan rule is not as clear even stratigraphically. The succeeding Period at Ahicchatrā is marked by the appearance of the coins of Acyu, one of the Ārayāvarta princes defeated by Samudragupta in *circa* 350, and at Kumrahār by the occurrence of Gupta coins and sealings. It is not unlikely, however, that at both the places there were some local chiefs between the withdrawal of the Kushan power and the advent of the Guptas and their contemporaries.

To turn to the ceramics of the Kushan levels. According to the excavator of Kauśambī, the post-Mauryan period saw in north India a regional diversity in pottery, but with Sub-periods V and VI of Kauśambī a unity is noticed again. He has no hesitation in ascribing this unity to the Śaka-Parthians and Kushan and traces the inspiration of some new pottery-types that were introduced during the Sub-periods to Taxila. At Achicchatrā Stratum IV (Kushan) was 'marked by strongly individual features, in pottery and showed 'more innovations in types and decoration than any single one of the preceding and succeeding levels.' There was now a predilection for a stable base in pots by making them flat-based or ring-based, which was certainly a feature of Taxila II (Sirkap) pottery. Some of the new types that were introduced were : the carinated and waisted vase ; the Knobbed lid ; the lid with an inkpot-like central cup ; the conical bowl ; the

sprinkler ; and the bottle-necked jar in various shapes. The pottery was generally unpainted, though painted sherds were sparingly found at Hastinapura—evidently under the inspiration of contemporary sites in north Rajasthan, where painted pottery occurs profusely in the early Christian age.

A feature of the pottery of the age was the use of stamps with symbols on the surface of pots. The symbols were, however, invariable Indian in character and cannot therefore be traced to foreign origin.

An unrecorded fact about the ceramics of the period is the limited occurrence of glazed pottery, as evidenced at Maholi near Mathurā and at Ahicchatrā according to my personal observation. Glaizng of pots was unkonwn in India in historical times before and after the Kushans, till the practice was restarted in medieval times under Muslim influence.

A type of terracotta objects that became common in the Śaka-Parthian-Kushan period was what is commonly called 'votive tanks' in Indian archaeology but what was in reality portable shrines perhaps dedicated to the mother-goddess. It has been pointed out that Parthian inspiration lay behind the practice of using such shrines.[3]

But more than in any class of objects is foreign influence pronounced in the terracotta figurines of the period. The change from the earlier indigenous terracottas to the less stylized, less sophisticated but more forceful ones was violent and widespread but only temporary, for after the end of foreign occupation there was a reversion to native traditions. The similarity of

3. D. H. Gordon, 'The Mother Godess of Gandhāra' *Antiquity*, March 1937, pp. 74-76.

terracottas of the age with those from the Parthian sites of west Asia is as striking as it is telling, and it is very likely that the Parthian tradition was brought to the heart of India by the Kushans. An abundance of terracotta human figurines with non-Indian features, head-dresses and costumes shows how the local people reacted to the appearance of foreigners who must have visited the Gangetic cities in large or small numbers—as officials or merchants or casual visitors. The iconography of some of the figurines show how, while the Kushan rulers patronized the 'official' Indian religions, the common people, for whom mainly terracottas have always been manufactured in India, adopted foreign popular cults.

Having reached the end of the review of the Kushan levels of some Gangetic cities, I must say that we should be circumspect about the extent of the foreignization of these and other cities. As has been said above, none of them was established by the Kushans but had a much earlier and later history. The Kushans might have occupied them as invaders, but foreign invasions were not a new incident in the annals of India. The Indians got used to the foreigners and were influenced by their beliefs, customs and secular practices, but it is equally true that the foreigners got absorbed in the local population. Such synthesis characterized Indian history till medieval times.

We should now excavate a real Kushan city in the subcontinent, to know the town-planning of the Kushans and its antecedents, their beliefs and practices, their mode of living and other allied matters. Mathurā may have had such a settlement, but it is now virtually closed for excavation owing to bad operations done in

the past and to the sealing off of most parts of it by modern habitations. We must therefore look outside the western borders of present-day India. Chārsada in the north-west, in spite of great hopes, has produced nothing significant in the last excavation. Sirkap, the second city of Taxila, is now known to have been inhabited by the Kushans during its last phases ; but in the main it was a Śaka-Parthian city over an earlier Indo-Greek nucleus. On the other hand, the only city reasonably believed to have been established by the Kushans in the subcontinent is the enormous third city of Taxila, Sirsukh, where, apart from an insigificant part of its defences, no excavation has been carried out, and the tale it has to tell remains unkown. Let us hope that as a part of the present campaign of knowing more about Kushan art, archaeology and history a large-scale excavation will be undeataken there.

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*THE ADJECTIVES OF EARLY AND MIDDLE ORIYĀ

S. HOTA

3—IV-00:—General Observations :—The adjectives, in Early Oriyā, are employed in a verv restricted number; and the number of adjectives is being gradually increased from the 12th Century onward. Consequently Oriyā like other NIA Languages possesses a large variety of adjectives remarkably increased in numerical strength throughout. Thus these adjectives are placed before substantives without any changes in their bodies whether employed for gender or number or case. In a sentence of Early or Middle or Modern Oriyā, the common case-endings function for both the substantives and adjectives.

3—IV-01:—The Caṇḍi Purāṇa and the Mahābhārata, of Sarala Das, the Rāmāyaṇa and the Bramhāṇḍa Bhugoḷa of Balarama Das, the Indramāḷikā and the Mahābhārāta of Jagannath Das, the Kalaṅki Bhāgavata of Sisu Das etc-all the works as mentioned are in MSS-and also the printed works of their successors are rich enough with such adjectives, showing Qualitative and Quantitative categories. These are broadly divided, as (a) Uninflected, and (b) Inflected. There are some being radically affected in their original forms strictly according to the gender of substantives; but most of

* A sub chapter of "Origin and Development of Oriyā" Doctoral Thesis of Dr. Siddheswar Hota.

them have deviated in their Ts., STs. and Tbh. forms of OIA origin from the principles of changes as observed with cases of substantives like other NIA in Oriyā. The discussion contains mostly the adjectives of Tbh. forms used in the Early, Early Middle and Middle Oriyā works including the Loan-Words of foreign Origins satisfying the necessary changes under different circumstances.

3—IV—02:—(I) Uninflectcd Adjcctival Forms :—The illustrations are, "Choṭa: Pua, Little son"; "Choṭa jhia, Little daughter"; "Dhaḷa: dhoti, white cloth"; "Dhaḷa: sa:ḍhi, white saree", "Phalanta: gaccha, fruitburden tree", "Phalanta:(nti) Latā, blossomed creeper"; "Barḍā Raja:, the great king"; Barḍa rāṇi: the chief queen"; [1]"Tuchcha:ha:tha (dei), empty hands" etc.

The qualitative forms of adjectives are least affected according to the number and gender of the qualifying nouns; and some of them from the Early and Middle Oriyā periods I have illustrated hereunder, and similar specimens have been referred to other NIA Languages.

Maseuline.	*Feminine.*	*Neuter.*
Kaḷa: Maṇiṣa, blackman	Kaḷa: bira:ḍi. . . black cat.	Kaḷa: ha:ṇḍi. black earthern pot.
[2]Kararḍa:mauḷa: loka.	Pāṭaḍoria: suta:[3].	Sandhya: Kaḷa.[4]
A man of karaḍa-ma:la.	Silkenstrips	Evening time.

1. Nitya:nigurubāra Kathā (N. K.-MSS) Sāraḷā Das.

2. Ghumusara Vaṁśa:vaḷi (MSS of 1707 A. D)...G. V.

3 & 4. Purusottama Devāḷaya Kāryavidhi (MSS) ;- P. D. K.

	Suna: garia:, Golden Jar.	
*Subarṇa cha:yēṇi Śankha.	Ca:cika: Camanda:,*	...Daśinārḍa*
The conch covered with gold.	Sakti of Carcika:	a kind of vein
Avadha: Kurupāṇ-ḍva*	Yeka: gha:nti.*	...Chadramarupa*
The undestructable Kuru Pandavas.	One wound.	Deceitful appearance.

and so on.

(*II*) *Inflected Adjectival Forms.*:—The relevant examples are

Tbh...Masculine.	*Feminine.*
Sihaṇa: rasika, Clever lover. (P. K.)	...Siha:ṇi: rasika:, Clever beloved. (P. K.)
Gua:ra nara, Grave man. (P. K.)	...Gua:ri: na:ri., Clever beloved (P. K.)
Khe!a:u!la Raghunātha.... The sportive Raghunath.	Khelāulī Sitā, The Sportive Sitā.
Chataka Aja:, Clever grand-father.	...Chaṭaki a:i, Clever Grand-mother
Dakhala sattwa, Possessed Land...	Dakhalī Jamī, The occupied land.
Kaḷa: baḷadablack,bullock...	Ka:!i ga:i, Black cow.

*. Sarala Dasa's Mahābhārata. (MSS).

Jhalamala ma:ḷa, Luxurious necklace.	Jhilimili ma:ḷi, Lustrous necklace.
Causaṭhī Pa:khuṛḍa:, Sixty-four petals.	Causaṭhi Pākhuṛḍi: Sixtyfour petals. (**)
	Candramābadani:rāmā (P. K.) Lotus-faced lady.
TS. : Duṣṭa nara, wicked man.	...Duṣṭa: nari:, wicked lady.
Bēgaba:n nada, swift river	...Bēgabati nadi, swift river.

etc.

Gender

3-IV-03 :—Adjectives in Oriyā from the aspect of different sources, may be classified as Ts., STs., Tbh., Desi, and Loans from the Indo-Aryan and Non-Indo-Aryan Languages and dialects such as English, Dutch, Arabic, Persian and so on.

3—IV.—04:—Oriyā has two genders of adjectives and adjectival forms. These are masculine and feminine and generally the feminine adjective is used with the feminine noun as "Guâ:ri nāri" but this is not strictly observed in the Late Middle and Modern Oriyā as in OIA and Nepāli.

Most of the adjectives undergo no inflection. As evidenced in Oriyā of all periods, the adjectives in "-a", and "-a:", changed from masculine to feminine, take suffixes "-a:" and "-i:" respectively with an elongated sound of the preceeding vowel of "i-a:" as in "Kaḷa: ghoṛḍa: "Ka:ḷi ghoṛḍi". Further examples are, "Bagaṛḍa:

(**) Caryāpada...Kanhupa:. P. K...Parimaḷa Kāvya by Narasinha Sena...

bhāta, course rice" as in "Bagarḍabha:-ta aṇichi bagarḍa: mahālakṣhmi ki na cha:rḍiba"—N.K.SsD"[5]. "Puṇa mahārājā ka *aṅgila: haṁsapura*. .(Mādalāpañji, 19 Khanda) i.e. Again the preceeding inner apartment of the Emperor". "*Upa:ṅgia: sevaka* dākahākaku..Anaṅgabhīmadevankara rājaswa (Mâdalâpāñji, 5th. Khanda) i.e. body-guards" : "*Ujāṇipavana* jé chchedila: mahamudra, i. e. The wind having opposite direction cut off the great seal...)Gorekha-Maṭsyēndra Saṁbāda)" etc.

Adjectives with inflexions according to gender of substantives as in, (i) - a: suffix, 'Sapanacetia : bāṇi' 'Olaṭa: patha', 'Olaṭa: Kathā, opposite story' ; 'Sukhila: luga:, dried cloth; 'Basanta: sua:nga, (Vaisnava Pani, P 25), "Nithara Priya", Nithara : Priya : " etc.

(ii) "-i : " suffix, as in, Pa: kua: burdha, Pa:koi burdhi, toothless old man, and Toothless old lady" ; "Padhāni bhuim (L7. M. Sananda, A. P. & P. P. 51) . . . Kaḷasā cautiśa:, "Khicingeswari ṭha: kurāṇi, ... (L 7 M. Śanada)" Masc. Khicingeswara ṭha:kura. "Parabāsi : ramaṇi : , as in *Parabāsi: ramaṇi:* avadhirēkha: gaṇi, i. e. Counting the line of demarcation by the foreign-soujourned lady . . . (Ushabhilaṣa of Siśuśankara, Chanda, 3,P44)" ; Kala: ghoṛda: > Kali ghoṛdi, black mare", etc.

3-IV.-05 :—The words."—andira:", and "-ma:i" are used before the substantive to express masculine and feminine genders distinctly. Similar parallelisms are found in Telegu which has, "-Mahat" and "Amahat" before substantives to distinguish masculine from feminine. The examples are, "Aṇḍira: pua (pila :), boy";

5. N. K. (Nityari Gambaru Katha) = S. D. (Sarala Das)

"Ma:i pila:, girl" or "Ma:i jhia". Such usages are extended to animals as in as in "Aṇdira: cheli, Ma:i Cheli: Aṇdira: bāchuri, meaning, "he goat, she-goat ; Calf, she-calf" respectively. In some examples the genders are in use being reduplicated unconsciously in Oriyā specially with the case of masculine gender as evidenced in, "Andira: Pila:, he boy" in which, "he and boy" both are denoting masculine gender. Further evidences are in, "Aṇdira: balada, He-bullock, Aṇdira: bāchuri, He-calf; Aṇdira: pua, he-son" etc. Again, in some examples the words used are of opposite sexes, but ultimate result rests in the feminine gender. The relevant examples are, Ma:i pilā, she-boy, or she-child ; Ma:i balada. she-bullock ; Ma:i chēḷi, she-goat ; Ma:i mēṇdha:, she-ram etc. This denotes the uncertain tendency of masculine to the feminine gender ; and this feature is further corroborated by the understated examples of another variety showing dissimmilarities between the adjective and the substantive, as in baṛdasāāntāṇi (Masc- Sàânta. Lord. King. or husband). the great queen, or lady, or house-wife etc ; "Supṇritēṇdeāta sa:heba, Masc.> Fem. Supāritēndēṇṭa sa:heba:," "Vìparita buddhi", and "Eṛdēka sam̃pradhi" as in "Nisataka:larē kalu *viparīta buddhi.* Adbhutē hara:ilu *eṛdéka sàmpradhi.*" S.D.- M Bh. meaning, "At the ṭime of danger, you had antagonistic mind and lost such great riches wonderfully". and so on.

3-IV- 06 :--Oriya like Awadhi, Assamese, Maithili, Bhojapuri, Nepāḷi, etc does not rigorously observe also the distinctions of two genders applied to both the adjectives and substantives and in other words a substative of feminine gender has its adjective of masculine

gender and vice-versa. This is a natural tendency of doing away with feminine affixes, "-a : ,- i " etc of OIA, relics in Middle and Modern Oriya including the dialectal speeeh-patterns. The examples are, "Sundara nara, E. Or. Sandari Na:rì (in some works), Mid & Mod Or. Sundara na:ri:, beautiful lady" ; "Sabuja lata:, green creeper " ; "Janha ra:ti, moonlit-night", "Raṇdi Pua or Rāṇdi jhia, widowcd son or widowed daughter etc".

Adjectives of different kinds like Qualitatives, Quantitatives, Adverbials, Pronominals etc do not introduce changes according to the gender of substantives. Thus *Mid. Or:*—"Nika Luga: a good or clean cloth." ; "Sana dēī, yougest sister", "Barda na:ni:, elder sister" ; "Choṭa jhia. Small daughter" "Gariba bhaṇḍa: ruṇī, poor barbar's wife" etc. *Mid.* & *E. Or:*—The examples are "Dirḍha śakti na:ṛḍi (C. K.-11-1) stable and vigourous vein" ; "Acinta dha:ma, as in 'Saraha bhaṇati *acinta* so *dha:ma*—([6]C. K.-22-5)' Unthinkable abode or religion" ; "Cauṭha: caraṇa, as in *Cauṭha: caraṇa* bicāri ekka-([7]P. Ping. Vol I. PP 112), 1/4 foot to be considered as one" ; "Ca:ri tha:in. in four places, (P. ping. VOL.I...112P) as in 'Caumatta karahagana *ca:ri ṭha:in*' ; "Vinjha:ba:ḷi: na:gēṇī ([8]S.D.-M. Bh.), the Lady of the Vindhyas is Nageni:" ; "Pālata: śa:ḍi, used saree, as in 'Basra phēṛḍi dēkhābanti dutikāra *palata: sāḍi (ri)*—S.D. M/Bh. " "Lajusi ja:ga, (S.D.-M. Bh.)"; "Parama sadhebi:, Vâiraba ba:seli: etc" *Vāiraba basēḷi:*go aṭu ugratārâ, etc···(S 3/4 D.-M. Bh. Udg. Parva)" ;

6. Caryā-Giti Koṣa (Viswabharati Edition) CK.
7. Prākruta Pingaḷam (P. Ping.)...Ed by Dr. Bholanath Vyasa.
8. Sarala Dasa-Mahabharata...(S. D.- -M. Bh.)

"Causaṭhi pākhuṛḍī dombi: ba:puṛḍi (C. K.-10, st. 2-P33)" and so on.

Thus the feminine is formed by

(a) Changing "-a">"-a:", as in "A:mbiḷa tiaṇa, furmented curry, A:mbiḷa: dahi, sour-curd" ; "Lamba ha:ta, long hand; Lamba: tḥēnga:, Long stick"; "Pa:tala Ka:gaja, thin paper: Pāta(Pa:ta)la: Luga:, thin or fine cloth" ; Chotṭa pua, Little son, Chhoṭta: jhia, little daughter" ; and so on.

(b) Changing, "-a:"> "-i", with an introduction of elongated sound just preceeding "-i"; as in, "Kaḷa: baḷada, black-bullock", "Ka:ḷi ga:i, black cow"; "Kaṇa: ma:mu, One-eyed maternal uncle", "Ka:ṇi ma:i, One-eyed maternal aunt."; "Pa:kua: buḍha:, toothless oldman, Pākōi buḍhi:, toothless old lady" ; "Ṭēra: akhi, is used denoting to a boy", but when denotes a girl, the expression becomes, "Ṭēri ākhi", and so on.

(c) Changing, "-a:"> "-i:", as in "Laṅgaḷa: pua (Masc.) naked or a male with loose character." ; "Languli: bohu, daughter-in-law with bad character" or naked daughter-in-law"; "Chchoṭi goṛḍi, short-legged lady" ; (the meaning refers to the noun understood here) (Masc. Bapuṛda: dama), (Fem. Bāpuṛdi dombi, or Bapuṛḍa: domi); "Pāṣaṇḍa nara, sinful male or man; Pāṣaṇḍi na:ri, sinful lady" and also "Pāṣaṇḍa>Pa:khaṇḍ, Fem. Pa:khaṇḍī used in Early and Middle Oriyā". Middle and Late Middle Oriyā has such usages abundantly, as in "Jaḷaki:, Ka:ṇi:, ṭeri:, na:kapēci: (Na;ri)... ([9]C. V...B,J.) <Masc, Jalaka:, Kàna:, tera:,...na:kapeca: etc.

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9. Catura Vinoda (C. V.) of Utkal University.

(d) Changing "a" >"i:",as in Mohini: byāghra:ṇi:, enchanted tigress< Masc. Mohana byāghra; Fem. Muṇḍi; chcha:ñcuṇi: shaven-headed broomstick etc.

Declension of Adjectives.

3-IV-07:—Early Oriyā:—The Oriyā adjectives have no normal change with regard to the gender and number of the noun; but still there are some survivals of the inflected adjective as found in the so-called standard Oriyā of the Middle and Modern periods. These inflected adjectives have double inflections, the first of which is "he, Ka, Kai, ai,, La, a, ua:, and anta:", while the latter has "he, hi, a:,ia, etc" are "Swa:rthe" affixes. The examples are "*Duhila:* dudha, milched milk (Carya. 33)"; *Ba:habake* Pa:raa (Carya. 8), able to carry"; "Pāṇḍu *arjila:ra* se aṭai Pancura:ai," (S.D.-M. Bh) ; "Aneka binaya hoila: *yevaṇēka* bidhi" (S.D.-M. Bh); with "anta" "Śukamuniṅka vacane: hasila: sahasra:kṣha,

E *nrutyakaranta:*	munihē aṭai bibhatsa. Vana Parva, M. Bh Udjoga Parva.
Kēvaṇahi	tḥa: varē tha: vare achanti padmalata:. B. R. (Kevaṇahi banē, Kevaṇa vanē, referring to place... B. R.[10]."

Thus the adjectives are of broadly three kinds, namely (i) Adjective to noun, (ii) adjective to an adjective and (iii) adjective to a verb.

3-IV-07 (a) :—*Adjective of a noun* :—Oriyā has generally no use of case-affixes, gender, and number as a part like Bengali, Assamese and other NIA.

10. Bilanka Ramayaṇa. . . of Saraḷa Das. (B. R.) Sahitya Prabesa...of Bara Jena (B. J.)

But the adjectives in Oriya are being used as a noun and have got the necessary case affixes, as in "Mohara baḷē tahū nēi nuhai cina : ē (Cina:ē bhumiku) Second case-ending (S. D. M. Bh-S. P.[11]) : Even a small plot of land can not be occupied only for my strength".

"Bamana bolai mu *yētēku* bha:jana, Sakti anukrame ghenain Muhi da:na. B. D.-R[12] (Yètēku-Yētē janaku), Vamana has said that he will accept the grants according to his capacity."

"Yama niti ba:ṛḍi ta:ṭi mohora khaṭai,

Kubēra devata:mora *maala* ka : cai... ... ... B. R. S.-D.[13].

Durjaya kaṭaka soṇita pura ; *Agamita* sura-nara-asura. U. Bhi. 1 Chchanda. 26"[14].

From the above examples it may be remarked that the adjectives in Oriyā are sometimes declined when used attributively.

3.-IV-07 (b) :—*Adjective to adjective* :—Some illustrations are, "Ghañca sañca dantapanti-kānti binu pra:ē...G. V.-V. Bi[15]" the lusture of the strongly studded teeth resembles the lightening" "Asthi kuṛdḥa kuṛdḥa hela:mánsaa gala:bahi...Bi. R. S. D., The bones are being piled up ; but the meat was melted away."

11. Sarala Dasa Maḥābhārata, Swarga Parva.
12. Balarama Dasa-Rāmāyaṇa.
13. Bi. (B). R. Bilanka Rāmayana of Sarala Dasa.
14. Usha:bhila:sa (U. Bhi). P 4. Ch. I, 26....Sisu Sankara Das (Si. D).
15. Govina Bhañja (G.V.)-Bhakta Vinoda.

3.-IV-07 (c) :—*Adjective to verb* :—Some of them have been very appropriate and reveal the connection with verb. They are, "Swapane mote *vidaṁbaṇa* kalā se ru:pe na gachche koṭikāmā" U Bhi. Si. D, Ch. V. 8"

"Suṇiṇa ṭahaṭaha hasai nrupamaṇi. D. R....BD.[16]"

Kahuṁkahuṁ vaikula huanti puṇapuṇa...C. P....S.D.; By utterance he becomes agitated again and again"... C. P. - S.D.[17]"

These examples comprising (ii) and (iii) serve as examples of adjectives used predicatively.

3-IV-08 :—*Late Middle and Modern Oriya* :—Illustrations are remarkably evidenced quite unlikely to Maìthili, in Oriya of the Late Middle and Modern Periods; but the number of adjectives as used pradicatively is gradually increasing more and more than those of attributives.

(*i*) *Adjectives of predicative use* :—"Kramē kharḍi chua:i lē, Sakaḷapāṭha paṛḍhilè: (Sulocana: Pariṇaya of Bharata Seṇa of 1860 A. D.) i. e. His study was begun ; and he read all lessons." "Ehi ma:phikē kandala nivarta kalē...(Cakarda: Vasa: na, P 25,' Thus he was dissuaded from struggle." "*Ehila: gē* ghaṭiba katha: bhulila kipari ?, How did you forget the incident just occured ?" "Udeśya gurḍika *jhaṭpat* ha: sala hoijāē, (Gopal candra Praharaj, Utkal Sāhitya, Jyēṣṭha 1323, No. 2, PP 99-PP 104'), The purpose was realised immediately", and so on.

16. Dāndi Ramayana (D. R.). . . Balarama Das (B. D.)
17. Candi Purāna (C. P.)—Sarala Das (S. D.) . . ./

(*ii*) *Adjective of qualitative use* :—The examples are, "*Nika pa:itijogu* gharaṭi sundara. The house looks beautiful for cleaned or good work.", "Adaḷa : snēha, unturned love"—Utkala Sāhitya, Jyēṣṭḥa 1323, No. 2, PP 99—PP104"; "Maphasalia: caṣa:, Village peasant. Utkal Sāhitya, VOL. XXII, Baisākha, 1325, PP 28-PP 35" etc.

3 - IV - 09 :—Oriyā has still retained to a large extent the uncompounded adjectives either of attributive or predicative nature as prevalent in OIA; but has not strictly observed the radical changes in either of them according to number, gender and case. In OIA, the loss of affix or affixes of the Karmadhā:raya compounds has been generally more significant ; and such evolutionary process has been gradually adopted to both the compounded and uncompounded Oriyā words of nouns and ajectives through MIA. Consequently the Middle NIA has practically introduced such loss of affix or affixes and method of declension as a permanent feature, which has ultimately reached to the NIA. in general and Oriyā in particular.

Degrees of Comparison

3-IV-10 :—Oriyā, as in other NIA, has no such inflexions for comparative and superlative terms of adjectives. The sense of comparative is expressed by (a) putting the compared (standard) thing in the ablative, e. g. "Udayaṭha : ru Hari kala :, Hari is darker than Udaya." ; "Śua : kua : thāru sundara. The parrot is more beautiful than the crow"; and (b) by putting in use words like-"Kama" and "bēsi" ; "-Sa:na," and "Baṛda"; "Adhika" and " Uṇa " : " Jia:da:" and " Kam " ; "Aḷpa and Bahuta" ; "-hina,-tuchcha

baḷi, etc. and some words used as affixes expressing indirectly the sense of comparison, such as, "Sundara", "Asundara" , " Deṇga: " , " Geṛda: " , "- Moṭa:", " -Saru " ; "-Tiṃpa: (S. Oṛiya Dial.)" etc, any one of which is put before the adjective with which the comparison is made by putting ablative case-affix with post-positions. These are very common in both the recorded and literary Oṛiyā daily speech-patterns, as illustrated below.

> "Rāmaṭha:ru Shya:ma dhanarē kam, Shyam is less rich than Rama", "Raṁbha : Urvaśiṭha:ru uparē Uṇa:, Rambha is less beautiful than Urvasi by appearance." "Vindhya ucarē Hima:ḷayaṭha:ru sāna, The Vindhya is smaller in height than the Himalayas".

The sense of comparison is expressed also by putting the noun or pronoun with which the comprison is made in the Locative case-affix suffixed to "-madhya, majhi,-bhitara," etc the usages of which are in vogue in the Modern Oriyā. The exemples are, "Rāma Rāvaṇa madhyarē (Madhya+rē), bhitare (bhitarae) Rāma baḷabān. Rama is stronger than Rāvaṇa in prowess." "Rādhu O Sādhu majhirē Sādhu Āgua:, sadhu is faster than Rādhu". The origins of the words are attested as Bhitarate <OIA. Abhyantarasmin. Loc. Case-affix." 'Majhire <OIA. Madhya asmin" and so on.

The sense of comparison is evidenced clearly in the illustrations from Middle Oriya, and it is expressed by the ablative Case-affix. The examples are. E sēbāku kuruma Na:ekatahū kereba (S. No. 48 of Pratāparudra Inscriptios, L9-10), The service of tortoise Kuruma)

(is more than the Lord (Na:katahû-Na:ekatharu). Thus "-Tahuñ" is a pronominal suffix with literal meaning "from him" <Tahim, (Literary meaning,-in him). Mid. Or. <Old. Or. Tahmī <Tasmin. in Locative of the OIA Tad.

"-Tahum", as in "Vajrahum aṇṭa jara hia:, whose heart is stronger than the thunderbolt" ; "Khēpahum, C. 4" ; "[18]Raṇahûm", Mid. Or "Gitagovindahūm, from Gitagovinda" ; Further examples in E. Oriya and Middle Oriya reveal the affix, "Tahūm", "Hum"-"U,-Um" etc. But the question naturally arises in this "U" ;-"Um" ; etc. Naturally the question arises about the origin of "-hum" and "-Tahum". Scholars are in doubt about the origin of "hum." While Dr. S. K. Chatterji remarks about the origin of "hum" -as obscure inspite of its presence as a living form in Bengali to the present day, on the other-hand he has suggested some possibility of its composite origin, along the line indicated below, :— dha-dhi> -ha,-hi ; Putra + dhatah>*Puttahao>Puttahau pùtahu? (*Vide. Ukti- Vyakti-Prakaraṇa, Introduction, P. 42*).

Further suggestions have been made by Dr. Sukumar Sen about "-hum", and "hu" as current in Avahaṭṭa through Apabhraṁśa. (*Vide. Baṅgalābha:-sār Ittivṛtta in Baṅgalāpadabicāra, P 157.*) But the form"-hu" is used in Apabhraṁśa work "Sanatkumara-kathā Caritaṃ, 444.1, as quoted by way of discussion of "Dative-Genitive-Ablative Singular case-affixes" ; and this one belongs to Eastern Apabhraṁśa Form, developed by the 12th Century A.D. (*Vide, Historical Grammar*

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18. Bhakta Vinoda of Govinda Bhanj of (S. D) Cena AKT.

of Apabhraṁśa-P 187 by Dr. G. V. Tagare). There is no doubt that the "hu,hum"-as suggetsed by Dr. Sen is undoubtedly of Avahaṭṭa origin through Apabhraṁś. But there will be no falsity of saying that these two terms are nothing but further simplification of the so-called terms, "-ēhu.-tahu.-ēhum,:tahum," as prevalent in Early and Early Middle Oriyā. Such examples are, "Tuṁbhatahum sakha: na: hiñ a mahāsamsa : ra(The Mahābhārata of Jaganath Das, P 46") There is no friend in this great world other than you." ; "Abhyya: sahu gya:na śreṣṭha gyānaum śrēṣṭha dhyāna, knowledge is better than the habit, and meditation iś superior than the knowledge ...Srimad Gita:, of Matta-Balarama Das". Such type of examples are so much common in works of "Visnu-Purāṇa, Sūrya Purāṇa, Caṇḍipurāṇa, Sarala Dasa's Mahābhārata and others in this sense as the case-affix of Ablative case. In view of consideration of these examples, it will not be unjustifiable to trace out the origin of,,-"hu,-hum" as "tahum" etc. as further simplification of-tahim >-tahum>-hum>-hu These affixes are not used in Mod. Oriyā except "-u<-hum".

3-IV-11 :—The superlative degree is expressed by some case-affixes of the Ablative-case, as "-hu",-"ru", "ṭha: ru" etc. "-hu,-ru,-ṭhāru" etc, as in ; "Barḍahūṇti barḍa sē go sānahūṇti sāna...Bh. VI of G. V. of 15th. Cent. A. D." meaning thereby" Srikrsna is the greatest of the greats ; and smallest of the smalls". This idea is also being expressed by the word or words used as affix or affies with Nominal or Pronominal base in Locative case-endings. The words are, "Madhyarē, Majhirē, Bhitarē, Yāka or Yākarē etc." and these may be analysed as, "Bhitara ē, Madha-rē, Majhitrē, Yakarē etc". ; which

are illustrated as, Kalidāśa *kabimadhyarē* or *bhitarē Yākarē* śreṣṭha. Kalidasa is the greatest of all poets. Rājya *yākarē* Kashmira sundara. The country Kashmir is the most beautiful of all countries etc."

3-IV-12 :—*Comparative and Superlative degrees with foreign or Loan-words used as affix or affixes: or suffix or suffixes:*—Comparative and superlative degrees are denoted by prefixing words like, ":adhika, more or excess" ; "bēśi, more" ; "kam, less" ; Mod. Or. "Jia:da: <Mid. Or. Jiya:de <Pers- Ziyada, more, excess" to the adjective, as in English and other Languages. There are other words like "bahuta", very, much ; "ati", very ; "atyanta", extremely, "Khub", much "are words used to express the qualitative degree or the intending comparisions as stated. The sense of the comparison with the help of these words as prefixes to the qualifying adjective is significantly expressed by putting the ablative and locative case-affixes,-"ṭhuñ,-uñ,-ru,-ṭha : ru, rē,-ē, etc." with the noun of comparison. Some of the appropriate examples are, "Dahi bāsipakhāḷaṭhuñ, or bāsipakhaḷaṭha: ru or ru adhika (ka:), bēśi, Jia:da bahuta, khub, ati, atyanta etc. a:m̐biḷa:. The curd is more sour than the formented rice". "Tula: ṭhāru Luhā bha:ri ojania:, The iron is heavier than the cotton", Nirmaḷa:Syāma:ṭha:ru atisundara, or atyanta sundara, or khub sundara, baḷi sundara, or bhāri sundara etc. Nirmala is more beautiful than Shya:mā." The locative case-endings are added to words like,"-madhya,-bhitara etc "as discussed under (3-IV-11) in addition to the word",- tuḷana:-rē-apekṣhya:-rē etc." to express the degree of comparison. The examples are, "Dhana tuhaṇa rē ma:n baṛda. The prestige is great-r

than the wealth." Ta : nkari guṇa apēkṣhya : doṣa bēśi. His faults are more than the merits." etc.

Ts and Sts. affixes for comparative and Superlative Degrees as in Oriyā :—Oriya of the standard or chaste variety has comparative and superlative suffixes of OIA to express the Degrees of Comparisions as in other NIA. The suffixes are, "tara, tama," added to the adjectives, such as "Punyatara, Priyatara, Punyatama, Priyatma, etc ; and "iṣṭha" added to the adjectives, such as Pa:pi, Papiṣṭha, most sinful ;" Srēṣṭha, most excellent etc. The Oriyā expressions mostly follow the idiomatic expressions of Sanskrit with or without a slight change in structural method of sentences, as exemplified, "Kruṣna Kaṅsa apēkṣhya: or madhyarē or tuḷaṇarē or (ablative affix,-ṭha : ru, added with Kaṅsa) caturatara., krusna is more cunning than kansa," "Bilua: prāṇimadhyarē, or prāniṭha:ru, prā:ṅibitarē caturatama. The jackal is the cunnung animal of all", "Mata : svargaṭha:ru gariyasī. Mother is greater than the heaven." Dhanāt vidya:geriyasī :,...OIA., but in Oriya, Vidhya: dhanaṭha:ru baraḍa. Learning is greter than riches. Comparing these sentences, the sense of comparison is being expressed by indeclinibles by Oriya and Sanskrit, while the same idea is expressed in English by prepositions.

3-IV-13 :—From this it may be concluded that the adjectives are of three kinds, namely (i) adjective to a noun, as in, "Gaganarē ghanamēgha ghoṭi rahichi. The dense clouds have shrouded the sky", (ii) Adjective to adjective, as in "Ghanaghora andhaka:ra ja:uchi ghoti, The darkness of greater density is covering the sky." ; and (iii) adjective to a verb, as in "Camaka :

uchi bijuli ghanaghana, lightening is being flashened more and more".

3-IV-14. :—History :—The origin of Oriya adjectives is syntactically related to that of nouns. In OIA and MIA the adjectives without compounds with nouns had generally the same gender, number, and case as the noun qualified. But the Early and Early Middle Oriyā have maintained to some extent the modifications of gender, but not the number and case of the noun as qualified. The adjectives are normally placed before the substantive and one case-ending does for both. The distinction of gender has been retained by introducing "-a,-i" forms in adjective and such retention of distinction of gender in adjectives by addition of "-a:" forms is evidenced in Eastern Awadhi.[19]

Gradually the Late Middle and Modern Oriyā have not significantly observed such distinctions even in modifications of gender in adjective to noun. Bengali is quite akin to Oriyā in this respect.

19. Evolution of Awadhi: . . . P 145. . . . . Dr. Baburama Saksena.

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FRESH LIGHT ON PĀṆINI S SUTRA—'TASYĀDITĀ UDĀTTAMARDHAHRASVAM'—(I.2.32)

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After describing the *svarita* accent as a combination of *udātta* and *anudātta*[1] (I.2.31), Pāṇini specifies in the succeeding *sūtra* (I.2.32) as to which part of a *svarita* consists of *udātta* element and which one of *anudātta*. He says - *Tasyādita udāttamardhahrasvam* (I.2.32) - Here the pronoun *tasya* refers to the noun *svarita* of the preceding *sūtra*. Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita while interpreting this *sūtra* remarks that the word "*hrasva*" in the *sūtra* is unscientific or not serving any purpose. In other words it is redundant.[2] Thus omitting this word he interprets the *sūtra* as follows:—

The first half of a *svarita* should be known as *udātta*, while the latter half is by the rule of remainder, *anudātta*.[3]

Thus according to Bhaṭṭoji, a *hrasva svarita* has first half *mātrā udātta* and the latter half *anudātta;* a *dīrgha svarita* consists of first one *udātta mātrā* and the latter one *anudātta mātrā*. Similarly the *pluta svarita* is a combination of first one-and-a half *udātta mātrā* and of the latter one-and-a-half *anudātta mātrā*. Represented by a diagram it stands thus—

Svarita

hrasva	*dīrgha*	*pluta*
½ *Udātta* + ½ *anudātta*	1 *udātta* + 1 *anudātta*	1½ *udātta* + 1½ *anudātta*

1. समाहारः स्वरितः (१.२.३१)
2. ह्रस्वग्रहणमतन्त्रम् ।
3. स्वरितस्यादितोऽर्धमुदात्तं बोध्यम्, उत्तरार्धं तु पारिशेष्यादनुदात्तम्

Above interpretation of Bhaṭṭoji is intended to get rid of one difficulty. If the word *hrasva* is retained, it can be explained in two ways: (1) *hrasvasya ardham* or (2) '*ardham ca tad hrasvam*' The First explanation means 'half of a *hrasva*'. Thus according to this interpretation the first half of a *hrasva svarita* will be *udātta* and the remaining half *anudātta*. Thus the scope of the *sūtra* will be restricted to the *hrasva* variety of a *svarita* only. If the second explanation is accepted it will mean that *hrasva* which is half i.e. it will refer only to the *dīrgha* variety of a *svarita* of which the first half portion is made up of a *hrasva mātrā*. Thus the first explanation excludes the *dīrgha* and *pluta* varieties and the second explanation excludes the *hrasva* and *pluta* varieties. In other words the *sūtra* will not refer to all the three varieties of a *svarita* which is actually intended by Pāṇini, who by using the pronoun *tasya* indicates that he speaks of the divisions of *svarita* (i.e. all the three varieties of it) in general and not a particular variety thereof. To make the *sūtra* applicable to all the three varieties, *Bhaṭṭoji* advises safely to omit the word *hrasvam* from the *sūtra* i.e. according to him the *sūtra* should better have been framed as '*tasyādita udāttamardham*'. Keeping this in mind, he shows the division of the three varieties of a *svarita* as illustrated above.

As in many cases *Bhaṭṭoji* has taken the expression '*hrasvagrahaṇamatantram*' directly from the *Kāśikāvṛtti*. But there is a clear difference of opinion between these two authorities. *Vāmana* says that *ardhahrasvam* is intended to indicate the *ardhamātrā* only[4] i.e. the word *hrasva* here does not refer to the *hrasva* variety which is

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4. अर्धं 'ह्रस्वम्' इति चार्धमात्रोपलक्ष्यते ।

its primary meaning but is used here secondarily to refer to one *mātrā* of which it consists. Thus *hrasva* = one *mātrā;* hence *ardhahrasvam* = ½ of one *mātrā* i.e. half the *mātrā*. It is only if the word *hrasva* is taken in the secondary sense of one *mātrā* which is its measure, that the *sūtra* will be applicable to all the three varieties of a *svarita*. Thus according to *Vāmana* the word *hrasva* is not redundant, but is used in its secondary sense, whereas *Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita* considers it as wholly redundant. Consequently, the first half *mātrā* of any variety of a *svarita* is *udātta* and the remaining *mātrās* are *anudātta*.[5] Thus:—

Svarita		
hrasva	*dīrgha*	*pluta*
½ *udātta* + ½ *anudātta*	½ *udātta* + 1½ *anudātta*	½ *udātta* + 2½ *anudātta*

The interpretation of *Vāmana* tends to come nearer to *Pāṇini* than that of Bhaṭṭoji. Firstly because *Vāmana* follows the view of the *Bhāṣyakāra* who remarks that *ardhahrasvam* should be understood as *ardhahrasvamātram*[6] and that this *mātrac* termination should be taken as dropped.[7] Secondly because if *Pāṇini* had intended equal distribution of mātrās in the two parts of a *svarita* as taken by Bhaṭṭoji, he would have preferred to drop the word *hrasva* from the *sūtra*. His use of the word *hrasva* in the *sūtra* is an indication that here *ardhahrasvam* is either a contraction of *ardhahrasvamātram* or *ardhahrasva-*

5. सर्वेषामेव ह्रस्वदीर्घप्लुतानां स्वरितानामेष स्वरविभागः ॥ शिक्यम् इत्यत्राऽर्धा मात्रा आदित उदात्ता, अपराऽर्धमात्रा अनुदात्ता, एकश्रुतिर्वा । कन्या इत्यत्राऽर्धमात्राऽऽदित उदात्ता, अध्यर्ध (१½) मात्रा अनुदात्ता । 'माणवका ३ माणवक' इत्यत्रार्धमात्राऽऽदित उदात्ता, अर्धतृतीय (२½) मात्रा अनुदात्ता ।
6. अर्धह्रस्वमात्रम् अर्धह्रस्वम् इति ।
7. मात्रचोऽत्र लोपो द्रष्टव्यः ।

dīrghaplutam i.e. the word *hrasva* either stands for one *mātrā* or it is a representative *upalakṣaṇam* of the other two varieties also.

Thirdly Pāṇini has given these divisions according to the Prātiśākhyas, which were the direct precursors of Sanskrit grammar. The Ṛkprātiśākhya, while discussing this matter, says that the first half *mātrā* of a *svarita* is more *udātta* (udāttatarā) than a regular *udātta;* or the half of (the whole quantity of) a *svarita* consisting of two *mātrās* is like a half *mātrā;* the remaining part is *anudātta.*[8]

The Taittirīya Prātiśākhya, on the other hand, lays down that "of this circumflex, in case it immediately follows an acute, the first part to the extent of half a short vowel, is uttered in a yet higher tone" (whitney, p. 31-32.)[9] The wording of the Taittirīya Prātiśākhya, especially the expression '*yāvad ardham hrasvasya*' at once makes it clear that Pāṇini has before him the tradition preserved in the Taittirīya Prātiśākhya and that the expression '*ardham hrasvasya*' is contracted by him as *ardhahrasvam.* Thus the word *hrasva* certainly denotes one *mātrā* and not the *hrasva* variety of a *svarita.*[10] As such the word '*hrasva*' in the *sūtra* is not at all redundant as *Bhaṭṭoji* observes. However he seems to follow the alternative view recorded by the Ṛkprātiśākhya which recommends equal distribution of the two halves of a *svarita.*

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8. तस्योदात्ततरोदात्तात् अर्धमात्राऽर्धमेव वा । RP III.4.
9. तस्यादिरुच्चैस्तरामुदात्तात् अनन्तरे यावदर्धं ह्रस्वस्य । TP.I-41.
10. अर्धस्वशब्द : प्रमाणवाची रूढिशब्द : । व्युत्पत्त्यर्थं तु ह्रस्वस्योपादानम् अर्धमात्रात्वेनाभिधीयते ततः प्रमेये मात्रचं विधाय, तस्य 'प्रमाणेलः' इति लोपः क्रियते। तत्र यथा ह्रस्वे बुद्ध्या अर्धमात्रा विभज्यते, एवं दीर्घप्लुतयोरपि ॥ प्रदीप on the महाभाष्य.

न्यायभाष्ये प्रावादुकमतानि

किशोरनाथ झा, प्रयाग

न्यायभाष्यस्याध्येतॄणामन्तेवासिनां समक्षं प्रेत्यभावपदार्थपरीक्षानन्तरं व्यक्तादेव व्यक्तमुत्पद्यत इति स्वमतमुपोद्बलयितुं पृथिव्याद्युत्पत्तिविषये विभिन्नदार्शनिकाणां कानिचन मतानि प्रायशो न्यायसूत्रकारकालप्रसिद्धानि तत्र खण्डनार्थं प्रस्तुतानि सन्ति। अत्र स्वाभाविकी जिज्ञासा समुदेति किंमूलकान्येतानि कुत्र चेदानीन्तनेषु दर्शनेषु विकासमागतानि नैयायिकस्यैतदपाकरणं सयुक्तिकं वर्तते न वेति।

न्यायभाष्यकृद् वात्स्यायनस्तु मतानामेषां विवेचनाय भूमिकामारचयनभिलपति "अतः परं प्रावादुकानां दृष्टयः प्रदर्श्यन्त[1]" इति। अत्र प्रावादुकाः नैयायिकेतरदार्शनिकाः दृष्टिपदं च दर्शनपर्यायम्। तानि यथा (१) शून्यतोपादानवादः (२) ईश्वरकारणतावादः (३) आकस्मिकत्ववादः (४) सर्वानित्यत्ववादः (५) सर्वनित्यत्ववादः (६) सर्वनानात्ववादः (७) सर्वशून्यत्ववादः (८) संख्यैकान्तवादश्चेति। एषु च मतेषु केवलमीश्वरकारणतावादः नैयायिकानां सम्मतोऽस्ति। अन्यानि मतानि तु नैवानुमतानि प्रत्युत निरसनीयानि सन्तीति तत्रत्यभाष्याध्ययनतः परिज्ञायते। स्वकीयायां खद्योतव्याख्यायां डा० गङ्गानाथ झा महोदयस्तु ईश्वरवादस्थापनार्थमेतस्य प्रकरणस्यारम्भ इति वार्तिककृदुद्योतकराचार्याभिप्राय इति प्रत्यपादयत्[2]।

तत्र प्रथमं शून्यतोपादानप्रकरणं दृष्टिगोचरं भवति। अयमाशयोऽस्य मृत्पिण्डसलिलादिसंयोगे सति बीजे नष्टे सत्येवाङ्कुरा उत्पद्यन्ते। तस्माज् ज्ञायते अभावाद् नाभावानां पदार्थानामुत्पत्तिर्भवतीति। एतन्मतमेव पूर्वपक्षतया सूत्रयति भगवान् गौतमः- "अभावाद् भावोत्पत्तिर्नानुपमृद्य प्रादुर्भावात्' ४। १। १४। इति। छान्दोग्योपनिषदि पूर्वपक्षतयाभिहिता वागस्य मूलमिति मनुते जनोऽयम्। तथा च तत्र "तद्धैक आहुरसदेवेदमग्र आसीदेकमेवाद्वितीयम्, तस्मादसतः सज्जायत[3]" इति। एवं तैत्तिरीयोपनिषदि असद्वा इदमग्र आसीत् ततो वै सदजायत इति विलोक्यते।

पश्चादेतन्मतरक्षा तु बौद्धदर्शनस्य माध्यमिकसंप्रदाये सविस्तरमालोकिता भवति। माध्यमिकश्च शून्यतोपादानवादीति धीधनेषु प्रथितम्।

परन्त्वेतन्मतं "व्याघातादप्रयोग" ४।१।१५। इत्युक्त्या निराकरोत् सूत्रकारः। तथा हि उपमृद्येत्यत्र क्त्वाप्रत्ययान्तार्थस्यासमाप्ताकांक्षतया "उपमृद्य

प्रादुर्भाव" इत्यनेनाङ्कुरादेः कार्यस्योपमर्दप्रादुर्भावयोः कर्तृत्वं प्राप्तम् । यतो हि य एवाङ्कुरः प्रादुर्भवति स एव तस्मात् पूर्वमुपमृद्नाति बीजम् । तच्च न संभवति उपमर्दानन्तरं जायमानस्याङ्कुरस्योपमर्दकर्तृत्वासंभवात् ।

(२) अतः परमीश्वरकारणतावादः समायाति "ईश्वरः कारणं पुरुषकर्माफल्यदर्शनात्' ४।१।१९। इति हि नैयायिकस्य पूर्वपक्षसूत्रम् । एतत् सूत्रव्याख्याने वार्तिकतात्पर्यटीकयोर्मतभेदः परिलक्ष्यते । वार्तिककृदुद्योतकरमतेन कर्मनिरपेक्ष-केवलेश्वरकारणतावादपरमिदं सूत्रम् । भाष्यकृद्वात्स्यायनस्याप्यत्रैव सहमतिः । अत एव समीहमानोऽपि पुरुषः समीहाफलं न प्राप्नोति । तेनानुमीयते पराधीनं पुरुषस्य कर्मफलाराधनमिति । यदधीनं स ईश्वर इति भाष्यं[5] सङ्गच्छते । यथाऽभक्षो वायुभक्ष इत्यत्राप एव भक्षयति वायुमेव भक्षयतीत्येवकारार्थः प्रतीयते एवमत्रापीश्वरः कारणमित्यस्येश्वर एव केवलं कारणं न कर्मादि किञ्चिदन्यदिति तात्पर्यम् । मतमेतत् प्राचीनतमे नकुलीशपाशुपतदर्शने मिलति । तथा च सर्वदर्शन-संग्रहकारः पाशुपतसूत्राभिप्रायं परिष्कुर्वदीश्वरे शिवापरपर्याये सृष्टिसंहारकर्तृत्वं प्रसाध्य तत्र दर्शनश्रवणमननविज्ञानसर्वज्ञत्वमनोजवित्वकामरूपित्वविकरण धर्मत्वरूपाष्टविधैश्वर्याणि साधयति । तत्र कामरूपित्वं कर्मादिनिरपेक्षस्येश्वरस्येच्छयैवानन्तकर्तृत्वाधिष्ठातृत्वमिति व्याख्याय कर्मादिनिरपेक्षमीश्वरं जगतः कारणतया निर्दिशति । [6]तथा च तत्रोक्तम्—

"कर्मादिनिरपेक्षस्तु स्वेच्छाचारी यतो ह्ययम् ।
अतः कारणतः शास्त्रे सर्वकारणकारणम्" ॥

महाबोधिजातकेऽपि कथेयं मिलति —

इस्सरो सव्वलोकस्स सचे कप्पेति जीवितं
इद्धिव्यसनभावंच कम्मं कल्याणपापकं ॥
निद्देशकारी पुरिसो इस्सरो तेन लिम्पति[7] ।

महाकविरश्वघोषोऽपि बुद्धचरितेऽभिलपति—

सर्गं वदन्तीश्वरतस्तथान्ये
तत्र प्रयत्ने पुरुषस्य कोऽर्थः ।
य एव हेतुर्जगतः प्रवृत्तौ
हेतुर्निवृत्तौ नियतः स एव[8] ॥

परं तात्पर्यटीकाकृद्वाचस्पतिस्तु पुर्वपक्षतयेह वेदान्त्यभिमतमीश्वरोपादान-कारणतावादं प्रस्तौति । तथा च तदुक्तिः—

"मा भूदयं नामरूपप्रपञ्चः शून्यतोपादानोऽपि तु ब्रह्मोपादानो भविष्यति। ब्रह्मैव हि प्रपञ्चरूपेण परिणमते मृत्तिकेव घटशरावोदञ्चनादिभावेन।... अपरं च ब्रह्मैवानिर्वचनीयानाद्यविद्योपधानान्नामरूपप्रपञ्चभेदेन विवर्तते मुखमिवानेकमणिकृपाणादिभेदान्नैकविधप्रतिबिम्बभेदेनेति । तदेतद्दर्शनद्वयमनेन सूचितम्। ईश्वरो ब्रह्म ईशनायोगात्"[9]। अत्र च प्रमाणम्—"तदैक्षत बहु स्यां प्रजायेय"[10] इति छान्दोग्योपनिषदः वाक्। इहाचार्य उदयनः परिशुद्धौ कथयति यद्यपि कारणपदं सामान्यपरं किन्तूक्तश्रुतिबलादिहोपादानपरमिति नासङ्गतिर्वाचस्पतेर्वचसि संभावनीया[11] एतावतेह विषये आचार्योदयनः वाचस्पतिमिश्रमनुगच्छति न वार्तिककारमुद्योतकरम्। वृत्तिकृद् विश्वनाथस्तु वाचस्पतिमनुवदति किन्तु स्वकीयपक्षपातस्तु वार्तिकोक्तावेव दर्शयति। तथा च तत्पङ्क्तिः—"वस्तुतस्तु केवलेश्वरकारणता परंप्रकरणम्; तदुपादानता परत्वे तु न मानमाकलयामः"[12]।

यद्वा भवतु एतत्तु निश्चितं यन्न्यायसूत्रकारः मतमिदं पूर्वपक्षतयोपस्थाप्याग्रिमसूत्रेण खण्डयति—"न पुरुषकर्माभावे फलानिष्पत्तेः" ४।१।२०। न केवलमीश्वरः जगतः कारणम्, न वा ब्रह्मोपादानोऽयं संसारः। यतो हि पुरुषः कर्म कृत्वैव फलमुपभुङ्क्ते। अनन्तरं "तत्कारित्वादहेतु"रिति ४।१।२१। सूत्रेण स्वसिद्धान्तं दीपयति सूत्रकृदित्यत्र न लेशमात्रमपि विमतिः। तथा हि सूत्रव्याख्यानभूमिकायां लिखति वाचस्पतिः—"तदेवमीश्वरोपादानत्वं ब्रह्मविवर्तत्वं निरपेक्षेश्वरनिमित्तत्वं च प्रत्याख्यायाभिमतं पक्षं गृह्णाति—तत् कारित्वादहेतुरिति"[13]। तत्पदेनेह ईश्वरस्य परामर्शः। तथा चेश्वरकारितत्वात् पुरुषकारस्य तत्सहाय एवेश्वरो जगतो निमित्तकारणमिति। अस्य निराकरणे पुरुषकर्माभावे फलानिष्पत्तेरित्यहेतुरिति सूत्रनिर्यासः।

अत्र वार्तिककारः मुख्यतया द्वाभ्यां हेतुभ्यां जगतः कर्तृतया अदृष्टस्य चाधिष्ठातृतयेश्वरं साधयति। तथा चानुमानप्रकारः

—(१) प्रधानपरमाणुकर्माणि प्राक्प्रवृत्तेः बुद्धिमत्कारणाधिष्ठितानि प्रवर्तन्ते अचेतनत्वात् वास्यादिवदिति। (२) धर्माधर्मौ बुद्धिमत्कारणाधिष्ठितौ पुरुषस्योपभोगं कुरुतः करणत्वात् वास्यादिवदिति। अत्र चेतरबाधसहकारात्मकेन हेतुना बुद्धिमत्पदमीश्वरं वक्ति। वाचस्पतिस्तु तृतीयेनैतद्व्यतिरिक्तेनापि हेतुना साधयतीश्वरम्। स च हेतुः वेदस्य कर्तृत्वात्मकः। तथा च तात्पर्यटीकापङ्क्तिः"तस्माद् यो वर्णाश्रमाचारव्यवस्थापक आगमो महाजनपरिगृहीतः स तत्प्रणीतः आप्तोक्तत्वात् प्रमाणं मन्त्रायुर्वेदवाक्यवदिति संप्रधार्यते।...... वेदा एव सकललोकयात्रामुद्वहन्तो हिताहितप्राप्तिपरिहारोपायमुपादिशन्तः ईश्वरप्रणीता इत्यवगच्छामः"[14]। पश्चाद्भवास्तु नैयायिकाः एतद्धेतुत्रितयमेव नवीनदृष्टान्तादिप्रदर्शनपूर्वकं पल्लवयन्ति।

(३) आकस्मिकत्ववादस्तृतीयः । एतन्मतस्य प्रवर्तकस्तु चार्वाकः । तथा चात्रत्या तात्पर्यपरिशुद्धिः—"इदानीं व्यक्ताद्व्यक्तनिष्पत्तिं निराकर्तुमाकस्मिकत्ववादं गुडजिह्विकया शरीरादौ निमित्तकारणनिराकरणमुखेन चार्वाक उपतिष्ठते[15]"। कारणमात्रनिरासार्थकमेतन्मतमिति वर्धमानोपाध्यायः । स्वभावादेव सर्वं कार्यजातं भवतीत्येतन्मताभिप्रायः। "अनिमित्ततो भावोत्पत्तिः कण्टकतैक्ष्ण्यादिदर्शनात्" ४।१।२२ । इति सूत्रेण मतमिदमुपस्थापयति भगवान् गौतमः। यथा कण्टकस्य तैक्ष्ण्यं विना कारणेन स्वभावादेव जायते तथा कृत्स्नः पदार्थ अकस्मादेव भविष्यतीति सूत्रार्थः। मतस्यास्य मूलं श्वेताश्वतरोपनिषदः–"कालः स्वभावो नियतिर्यदृच्छेति" वाक्यमिति[16] प्रत्येति जनः। सुश्रुतसंहितापि—

"स्वभावमीश्वरं कालं यदृच्छां नियतिं तथा ।
परिणामं च मन्यन्ते प्रकृतिं पृथुदर्शिनः[17] ॥"

इत्येवंरीत्यानुवक्ति । मध्ययुगस्य न्यायशास्त्रजनकतया प्रसिद्ध आचार्य दिङ्नागः मतमिदं निर्दिशति—

"नित्यसत्वाः भवन्त्येके नित्यासत्वाश्च केचन ।
विचित्राः केचिदित्यत्र तत्स्वभावो नियामकः ॥
अग्निरुष्णो जलं शीतं समस्पर्शस्तथानिलः ।
केनेदं रचितं तस्मात् स्वभावात्तत् व्यवस्थितिः[18] ॥ इति ।

बुद्धचरितमपि मतमिदमभिलपति—

"कः कण्टकस्य प्रकरोति तैक्ष्ण्यं
विचित्रभावं मृगपक्षिणां वा ।
स्वभावतः सर्वमिदं प्रवृत्तं
न कामकारोऽस्ति कुतः प्रयत्नः[19]" ॥

चार्वाकदर्शनस्य मण्डनमुखग्रन्थस्य वैरल्येऽपि खण्डनमुखप्रचारस्य बहुत्र दर्शनग्रन्थजातेषु समुपलब्धिं पश्यामः। यथा कुसुमाञ्जलौ "हेतुभूतिनिषेधो न स्वानुपाख्यविधिर्न चे[20]" ति कारिकयैतन्मतनिरासोऽथ च —

"सापेक्षत्वादनादित्वाद् वैचित्र्याद् विश्ववृत्तितः ।
प्रत्यात्मनियमाद्भुक्तेरस्ति हेतुरलौकिकः[21] ॥"

इति कारिकया कार्यकारणभावस्थापना च जायते ।

मतस्यास्य विश्लेषणावसरे "वदतो व्याघात" इति दोषो लगति । तथा हि विना निमित्तेन कार्योत्पत्तौ निमित्तत्वमनिमित्तस्यैवायाति । यतोऽनिमित्तरूपनिमित्ततः कार्योत्पत्तिरुच्यते । यद्युच्यते निमित्तानिमित्तयोः परस्परं भेद इति । अतएव "निमि-

त्तानिमित्तयोरर्थान्तरभावादप्रतिषेधः" इति ४ । १ । २४ । सूत्रं न्यायस्यैकदेशिमत-खण्डनपरमाकस्मिकत्ववादसमर्थनपरं च तदा प्रत्येति जन एतन्मतप्रत्याख्यानपरं सूत्रं भाष्यकृतः प्रागेव विलुप्तमभवदिति ।

वाचस्पतिस्तु प्रश्नममुं समाधातुमभिदधाति—"कस्मात्पुनः पूर्वपक्षः स्वयं न निराकृत इत्यत आह—सा खल्विति भाष्यम् स खल्वयं वादः अकर्मनिमित्तशरीरादिसर्ग इत्येतस्मान्न भिद्यत इत्यभेदात् तत्प्रतिषेधेनैव प्रतिषिद्धो वेदितव्य इति हि तत्रत्यं भाष्यम्"[22]

एतदधिकृत्य पूर्वपक्षयति सूत्रकारः—"भूतेभ्यः मूर्त्युपादानवत् तदुपादानम्" - ३ । २ । ६१ । कर्म निरपेक्षेभ्य एव भूतेभ्यः मूतर्यः पाषाणाद्यवयविन उत्पद्यन्ते । यतस्तेषां कर्म न संभवति एवं भूतेभ्यस्तस्य शरीरस्योत्पत्तिर्भविष्यतीति तत्र न कर्मणां करणत्वम् । उत्तरं त्वस्य पाषाणाद्युत्पत्तिरपि कर्मनिरपेक्षभूतेभ्यो न संभवति । तदुत्पत्तिरपि जीवकर्मसापेक्षेभ्यः भूतेभ्य एव जायते । पाषाणादिपदार्थमात्रस्य जीवार्थतया तद्दृष्टाधीनत्वात् । एवं च पाषाणाद्युत्पत्तिः कर्मनिरपेक्षभूतकृतेति दृष्टान्तः साध्यसमः । तस्मादस्य जात्युत्तरत्वादसङ्गतमेवमाकस्मिकत्ववादं निरसितुं शक्नोति कश्चिदिति सूत्रकृता पूर्वमेव मतमेतदपाकृतमिति वाचस्पतेराशयः ।[23]

(४)कारणसामग्री किमनित्यानां पदार्थानां समुच्चयोऽथवा नित्यानामाहोस्वित् नित्यानित्यानामिति विचारार्थमधुना सर्वानित्यत्ववादः प्रस्तुतोऽस्ति । समेषां पदार्थ-जातानामुत्पत्तिप्राक्कालाधिकरणिकायाः सत्तायाः अभावेनोत्पत्त्यनन्तरभाविकालमात्र-भावित्वेन कादाचित्कत्वं प्राप्तं तेनानित्यता सिद्ध्यति । विनाशानन्तरमसत्त्वेनाप्यनि-त्यतैव सिद्ध्यति तेषाम् । एवञ्च पृथिव्यादिपरमाणवो अनित्याः भौतिकत्वात् शरीरवत् । आत्मा चानित्या अभौतिकत्वात् बुद्धिवदित्यनुमानेन सिद्ध्यति यत् कारणसामग्री अनित्यपदार्थानामेव समुच्चय इति मतस्यामुष्याभिप्रायः । एतच्च पूर्वपक्षयति सूत्रकारः—"सर्वमनित्यमुत्पत्तिविनाशधर्मकत्वात्" ४ । १ । २५ । एतन्मतप्रतिपादिका श्रुतिरपि पूर्वपक्षतयैव विद्यते निर्दिष्टा—"एतास्मादाकाशः संभूतः" इति ।
महाभारतमपि कथयति—

विद्धि नारद पञ्चैतान् शाश्वतानचलान् ध्रुवान् ।
महतस्तेजसो राशीन् कालषष्ठान् स्वभावतः ॥
आपश्चैवान्तरिक्षं च पृथिवी वायुपावकौ ।
नासीद्धि परमं तेभ्यो भूतेभ्यो मुक्तसंशयः ।
नोपपत्या न वा युक्त्या तदसद् ब्रूयादसंशयम्[24]

एतन्मतमधिकृत्यैव वात्स्यायनकृतन्यायभाष्यतोऽर्वाग्वर्तिषु बौद्धदर्शनेषु क्षणिकवादप्रचारः प्राचुर्येण सञ्जात इति शङ्कते जनोऽयम् । यत् सत् तत् क्षणिकमिति क्षणभङ्गवादः बौद्धस्य योगाचारसंप्रदायसिद्धान्त इति विद्वत्सु प्रथितम् ।

यथाग्निर्दाह्यं काष्ठादिकं दग्ध्वा पश्चात् स्वयमपि विनष्टो भवति तथैव सर्वस्य विनाशं विधाय स्वयमपि नश्यत्यनित्यतेति निर्यासोऽत्र ।

एतेनानित्यता सा नित्यानित्या वा, यदि नित्या तदा तस्या एव नित्यतया सर्वमनित्यमिति प्रतिज्ञाभङ्गः । यद्यनित्या तदा तस्यामविद्यमानायां कार्यजातमेव सकलं प्रपञ्चं जगतः नित्यतां प्राप्नुयादिति वदतो मुखं पिहितम् ।

परं नैतत् श्रद्धेयम् । प्रमाणतो यस्योत्पत्तिविनाशधर्मकत्वमुपलभ्यते तदवश्यमनित्यम्, किन्तु येषां तन्नोपलभ्यते यथा भूतपरमाणूनामाकाशदिक्कालात्ममनसामिति तन्नित्यमिति सर्वमनित्यमिति सुतरां न सिद्ध्यति ।

(५) सर्वनित्यत्ववादस्य तूत्पत्तिः कापिलकीति निश्चप्रचम् ।

"असदकरणादुपादानग्रहणात् सर्वसंभवाभावात् ।
शक्तस्य शक्यकरणात् कारणभावाच्च सत्कार्यम्"[25]

इतीश्वरकृष्णकारिकोर्ध्वनिर्दिष्टवादं पुष्णाति । स्वोत्पत्तिप्राक्कालावच्छेदेन कार्यं सन्नवेति विप्रतिपत्तौ विधिकोटिः कपिलानुयायिनाम् निषेधकोटिरन्येषां नैयायिकादीनाम् । साङ्ख्याचार्याः स्वोत्पत्तिप्राक्काले कारणे सूक्ष्मरूपेण वर्तमानं कार्यं सदेव भवति क्रियमाणत्वात्, यत् क्रियमाणं तत्सदिति राद्धान्तमङ्गीकुर्वन्ति । अत एव यदसत् तदकारणकं दृष्टम्, यथाश्वशृङ्गम् । तथा चैतत् सत्त्वव्याप्यक्रियमाणत्ववत् कार्यं तस्मात् सत्कार्यमिति पञ्चावयववाक्यात्मकं न्यायमारचयन्ति । मतेऽस्मिन् कार्यस्याविर्भावतिरोभावौ भवतः न तूत्पत्तिविनाशौ । यथा कूर्मस्याङ्गानि कूर्मशरीरे निविशमानानि तिरोभवन्ति न तु नश्यन्ति तथा बहिर्भूतानि तानि नोत्पद्यन्त अपि त्वाविर्भवन्ति । एवं कार्यजातं यदा स्वकारणेऽवतिष्ठते तदा तिरोभवति । यदा च स्वकीयं स्थूलरूपमाधाय संतिष्ठते तदाविर्भवति । तैलं स्वकारणे तिले पूर्वत एव सन्तिष्ठमाणं सामग्रीत आविर्भवति । चेत् कारणे कार्यसत्तानङ्गीकारस्तदा तिलादेव तैलं न सिकताभ्य इत्यत्र नियामकमार्गणप्रयासः स्यात् नचोपलभ्यते । व्यासभाष्यमुपोद्बलयतीमां कथाम् । तथा हि "उभयप्रत्याख्याने च शाश्वतवाद इत्येतत् सम्यक्" इति[16] । अत्रोभयपदेन हेतूच्छेदवादौ गृह्येते ।

अत एव पूर्वपक्षतया सूत्रयति भगवान् गौतमः—"सर्वं नित्यं पञ्चभूतनित्यत्वात्" (४।१।२९।) ।

(६) सर्वनानात्ववादे कृत्स्नं भावपदार्थजातं नाना भवति । न कश्चिदेको भावो विद्यते । कुतः भावलक्षणपृथक्त्वात् । भावस्य पदार्थस्य लक्षणे स्वरूपे पार्थक्यमित्यन्वर्थसंज्ञको हेतुः । यथा घटः गन्धरसरूपस्पर्शसमूहे तिष्ठतीत्येतन्मताभिप्रायः । एतस्य मूलं नितरां प्राचीनम् । महाभाष्ये पतञ्जलिः कथयति—"गुणसमवायो द्रव्यमिति" । अत्र समवायपदं समूहवाचकम् । पश्चादेतन्मतं बौद्धस्य पुञ्जवादे परिणतम् । बौद्धानामिदं मतमिति तात्पर्यटीकाकाराः कण्ठतः कथयन्ति[27] । सौत्रान्तिकवैभाषिकसंप्रदायौ बौद्धदर्शनस्य मतमिदं पुष्णत इति खद्योतव्याख्याकृद् गङ्गानाथझामहाभागः[23]। न्यायसिद्धान्तमुक्तावल्यामवयविपरीक्षाप्रकरणे परमाणुपुञ्जवादतया मतमिदमुल्लिखितम् । एकस्य धर्मिणः प्रत्यक्षादिप्रमाणसिद्धत्वात् तस्य च चाक्षुषत्वरासनत्वादिविरुद्धधर्माध्यस्तरूपरसाद्यात्मकत्वाभावात् अवयवानां च कारणत्वात्, कार्यकारणयोरभेदासंभवाच्च न तत्तदात्मकत्वं घटादेः संभवतीति" विश्वनाथस्य वृत्युक्त्या खण्डितं भवति बौद्धस्य पुञ्जवादराद्धान्तः इति ।

(७) अथ सर्वशून्यत्वसिद्धान्तः । सर्वं भावपदार्थजातंमभावरूपेणात्मसत्तां लभमानमस्ति यथा घटः पटाभावरूपेणैव वर्तते । एवमेव सर्वेषु भावात्मकपदार्थजातेषु परस्पराभावस्य सिद्धिर्जायते । तथा च सूत्रयति भगवान् गौतमः—सर्वमभावः भावेष्वितरेतराभावसिद्धेः ४।१।३७। । नैतन्मतं सम्यक् । यतो हि भावत्वरूपस्वकीयधर्मेण भावानां सद्भाव एव भवति ।

तथा हि द्रव्यगुणकर्मणां सदादिसामान्यं द्रव्याणां क्रियावदित्येवमादि विशेषः, स्पर्शपर्यन्ताः पृथिव्याः विशेषाः । प्रत्येकस्य चानन्तो भेदः । सामान्य विशेषसमवायानां च विशिष्टाः धर्मा गृह्यन्ते । सोऽयमभावस्य निरूपाख्यतया संप्रत्यायको—ऽर्थभेदो न स्यात् अस्ति चार्थभेदस्तस्मान्नैव सर्वमभावेऽन्तर्भवितुमर्हति ।

(८) अथोपसंहारे संख्यैकान्तवादमधिकृत्य विचारः प्रचलति । एकः अन्तो निर्णय इति एकान्तः संख्याभिरेकान्तो यस्मिन् वादे भवति स सङ्ख्यैकान्तवाद इति ।

संख्या एकान्ता येषु वादेषु ते तथोक्ता इति तात्पर्यटीकायां वाचस्पतिमिश्राः । इह खल्वनेकानि मतानि नयनपथमवतरन्ति । सर्वमेकं सदविशेषादित्यद्वैतवादः । सर्वं द्वेधा नित्यानित्यभेदादिति द्वितीयः । सर्वं त्रेधा ज्ञातृज्ञेयज्ञानभेदादिति तृतीयः । सर्वं चतुर्धा प्रमाणप्रमेयप्रमितिप्रमातृभेदादिति तुरीयः ।

अत्र प्रथमवाद; एकमेवाद्वितीयं ब्रह्म नेह नानास्ति किञ्चनेति श्रुतिमुपजी—व्यतया संगृह्य शाङ्करवेदान्तरूपेणेदानीं पुष्पति फलतीति मनुते जनोऽयम् । गरुड—पुराणमपि मतमिदमुल्लिखति—

विष्णुमानन्दमद्वैतं विज्ञानं सर्वगं प्रभुम् ।
प्रणमामि सदा भक्त्या चेतसा हृदयालयम् ॥

शब्दकल्पद्रुमोऽपि कस्माच्चित् प्राचीनग्रन्थात् निम्ननिर्दिष्टश्लोकं समुद्धरति

"नित्यानन्दो भक्तरूपो व्रजे यः श्रीहलायुधः ।
भक्तावतार आचार्योऽद्वैतो यः श्री सदाशिवः ॥

द्विधा + ईतः = द्वीतस्तस्मात् स्वार्थेऽणि वृद्धौ द्वैत इति निष्पद्यते । एतस्य नञा संबन्धे सति अद्वैतपदनिष्पत्तिर्भवति । द्वैतवादोऽपि वेदान्तस्यापरप्रस्थानेषु प्रसिद्ध्यति तृतीयवादमप्यपलपितुमशक्यम् । चतुःपदार्थवादं तु न्यायभाष्यकृदप्यनुसरति । अत एव न्यायदर्शनस्य प्रथमसूत्राभ्याख्यायामयं कथयति–प्रमाणप्रमेयप्रमितिप्रमातृणां लक्षणं विधाय दुःखं तत्कारणं तद्धानं तदुपायं च प्रदर्श्य चतसृषु चैवंविधासु अर्थतत्त्वं परिसमाप्यत इति" ।[29]

सन्दर्भसूत्राणि

१– द्र. न्यायभाष्यम् ४।१।१४।
२– खद्योतटीका पृ० २४६ [पूना प्रकाशनम्]
३– छान्दोग्योपनिषत् ६।२।१।
४– तैत्तिरीयोपनिषत् ब्रह्मवल्ली ७।१।
५– न्यायभाष्यम् ४।१।१६।
६– सर्वदर्शनसंग्रहःनकुलीश पाशुपतदर्शनम् पृ० ६५. आनन्दाश्रम प्रकाशनम् ।
७– महाबोधिजातकं का० १४२
८– बुद्धचरितम् ६।६३।
९– न्यायवार्तिकतात्पर्यटीका ४।१।१६।
१०– छान्दोग्योपनिषत् ६।२।३।
११– तात्पर्यपरिशुद्धिः ४।१।१६। पृ० २५ [प्रा० श्री अनन्तलाल ठक्कुरकृतपाण्डुलिपितः]
१२– न्यायसूत्रवृत्तिः ४।१।१६।
१३– न्यायवार्तिकतात्पर्यटीका ४।१।२१।
१४– " "
१५– तात्पर्यपरिशुद्धिः ४।१।२२। पृ० २६
१६– श्वेताश्वतरोपनिषत् १।२
१७– सुश्रुतसंहिता शारीरस्थानम् का० ७
१८– प्रमाणसमुच्चयः

१९– बुद्धचरितम् ९।६२।
२०– न्यायकुसुमाञ्जलिः १।५।
२१– ,, १।४।
२२– न्यायवार्तिकतात्पर्यटीका ४।१।२४।
२३– ,,
२४– महाभारतम् १२।२६७।६–७।
२५– सांख्यकारिका ९।
२६– व्यासभाष्यम् २।१५।
२७– न्यायवार्तिकतात्पर्यटीका ४।१।३४।
२८– खद्योतटीका पृ० २५९ [पूना प्रकाशनम्]
२९– न्यायभाष्यम् १।१।१।

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ON THE GALITAPRADĪPA OF LAKṢMĪDHARASŪRI

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1. The *Galitapradīpa*[1] (=Gp) is a Vedāṅga work that deals with a certain aspect of the Ṛgvedapadapāṭha (=Pp), viz, its method of occasionaly dropping certain repeated passages of the Saṁhitā in the place(s) of repetition. Such a dropping is known in the Vedic tradition, since the days of *Prātiśākhyas* by the name *samaya.*[2] The Gp calls it *galita*[3] and this paper will also call it so. The meaning of *galita* was forgotten in course of time and it became necessary for some two ancient commentators of the Ṛgveda-Samhitā, viz. Mādhava and Veṅkaṭa Mādhava, to clucidate the principles involved there in.[4] According to these commentators, the *galita* indicated Śākalya's acceptance of the repetition not only

1. Ed. ShriKrishna Deva, Varanasi (Saṁvat 2016), together with a *pariśiṣṭa.*

2. Cf. *Ṛgvedaprātiśākhya*, 10.12; the Appendix IV (of Mādhava) in the *Ṛgvedānukramaṇī* ed. C. K. Raja, Madras (1932), p. cix; read :

alakṣyatvād anūhyatvād adṛṣṭānuvidhānataḥ|
apy eṣām prātiśākhyādyair ataḥ Samayanāmatā||

in Gp, Op. Cit, p.2 and cf. verse 12 in the *pariśiṣṭa* p. 44.

3. Cf. Gp, Op. cit., verses 1 (P.1); 6 (P.3); 7 (P.4); 70 (P.3) and verse 1 in the *pariśiṣṭa*, P. 43.

4. Cf. in the Appendix IV in the *Ṛgvedānukramaṇī*, Op. Cit; the *kārikās* of Veṅkaṭa Mādhava in *Ṛgveda-with Commentaries*, Part IV, V.V.R.I., Hoshiarpur (1965-66), PP. 2136-37.

of words but also of their meaning;[5] and *vice versa* the absence of the *galita* in the place(s), where the same words occured again, meant that he saw a different meaning in them.[6] It is noticed that Mādhava has taken his cue from the presence and the absence of such a *galita* while interpreting many a Ṛgvedic passage[7] but it is a matter of regret that later commentators have not taken cognisance of these important observations of Mādhava. Not only that ! A modern Vedist, C. G. Kashika, has questioned the validity of the alleged principle involved in the *galita* and argued that :—

(i) There is no method in the *galita*;
(ii) The Pp reveals a mechanical dropping of repeated passages only in some places; and
(iii) many repeated passages have escaped Śākalya 's attention.[8]

This evoked C. K. Raja's rejoinder which is unfortunately not available even now - it is in the form of a summary.[9] It was in this rejoinder of Raja that one first heard of the Gp as a work which explains the method of the *galita*.

5. The nature of this meaning, acceptable to Śākalya needs to be fully ascertained by interpreting all *galitas* in the manner of Mādhava.

6. I have tried to illustrate this; Cf. On the Galitas in the Padapaṭha as a means of Ṛgvedic interpretition", *Indin Antiquary* Vol. III 1-4, Bombay (1969), pp.56-82.

7. Cf. his *Ṛgvedavyākhyā*, Parts 1 and 2, ed. C. K. Raja, Adyar (1937, 1947), under 1.140.11;21.3;25, 12; 35.4;37.5; 44.14; 81. 8; 117.25 etc.

8. cf. PAIOC XIII, Nagpur (1946), published in 1951, pp. 39 ff and ABORI *XXVIII*, Poona (1948), pp. 302-5.

9. Cf. PAIOC *XIV*, Darbhanga (1948)-*Summary of papers*, pp. 3-4.

However, the Gp remained shrouded in the Mss Libraries till Saṁvat 2016 (about March 1960) when it was first published by Shrikrishna Deva, together with his own commentary on it and[9] a *pariśiṣṭa.* The book consists of two parts : the first enumerates the *paribhāṣās* i.e. the rules which govern the system of the *galitas* and those which help the understanding of the second part; the second enumerates those *galitas* in the eight Aṣṭakas which are not covered by the *paribhāṣās* in the first part. The pariśiṣṭa does not differ from the first part materially.[10]

The editor of the Gp has explained in his commentory the various rules and specified the places of the *galitas* in the whole of the Pp. Nevertheless, he made no attempt to see how far Gp has succeeded in establishing the method of the *galitas.* And this left scope for the present paper.

2. At the outset, the following observations have to be made about the Gp:

(i) It does not refer to the meaning of the *galita* anywhere.

(ii) No information is available about its author and the date of it's composition. Consequently, the Gp may be expected to give a set of such rules as regulate the system of the *galitas* only on the formal level. This renders the following examination of the Gp a mere pursuit of academic pleasure.

10. The editor has added a third part (this is his own) which enumerates the *galitas* which are not given in the second part of the Gp. These, he has arranged in groups following the rules enunciated in the Gp.

Also such *paribhāṣās* in the Gp as help the understanding of its text are overlooked, for obvious reason.

Again, with a view to avoiding lengthiness, attention is focussed mostly on the first *Aṣṭaka* while discussing rules 3 and 5. It is hoped that the results which arise from that data may be further corroborated by a scrutiny of the remaining data.

3. There are, in all, five rules of the *galita* as enumerated by the Gp. I turn to these, one by one.

Rule 1 :

Full verses, when repeated in the Saṁhitā, are dropped by the Pp in the place(s) of repetition.[11]

This rule is well observed in the Pp of the whole Saṁhitā, except in a few places—and this fact is noticed by the Gp itself.[12] These few places can be legtimately treated as the exceptions to the general rule.

Rule 2 :

A hemistich or a verse-foot which occurs in one (and the same) varga three (or more) times is dropped by the Pp in the places of repetition.[13]

It is clearly understood from this rule that—

(i) hemistich or a verse-foot which occurs in one (and the same) *varga* only twice is dropped by the Pp in the place of repetition.

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11. *ṛco' Khitā galanty eva yathāpūrvaṁ punar gatāḥ* Verse 3, p. 2.

12. *nū me brahmāṇi* (7.1.20; 25), *yajñena* (1.164.50, 10.90.19) *Vinaitābhyām iti sthitiḥ*, ibid. Also cf. the *pariśiṣṭa* verses 8—11 which refer to the unscanned text of 7.59.12; 10.20.1,121 10; 190. 1—3 (the whole hymn).

13. *trir ādigata ekasmin varge' rdharco'ṅghrir eva vā galet Sarvatra*, verse 4, p.3.

(This is set aside by rule 4, to some extent); and

(ii) a hemistich or a verse-foot which occurs in two or more different *vargas* is not dropped by the Pp in the place(s) of repetition.

(This is set aside by the rule 3, to some extent). A corollary of this is: if a hemistich or a verse-foot from some *varga* is repeated thrice in another *varga*, the Pp drops it only in the last two places in the latter *varga*—it would scan it fully in the first place of repetition there.

In connection with hemistiches, it has to be pointed out that quite a large number of repeated hemistiches are composed in *triṣṭup* and *jagatī* metres (in the first, more of them) and they are quite rightly covered by rule 4 below. Now, of the remaining hemistiches, only a few conform to this rule (viz rule 2)—rather, one would say that the rule finds more exceptions than examples.

As examples, one could cite the following :

1.28.1 cd	=	1.28.2 cd, 3 cd,	4 cd	(*Anuṣṭup*)
1.29.1 cd	=	1.29.2 cd, 3 cd,	... 7 cd	(*Paṅkti*)[14]
4.48.1 cd	=	4.48.2 cd, 3 cd,	4 cd	(*Anuṣṭup*)
6.44.1 cd	=	6.44.2 cd, 3 cd,		(*Anuṣṭup*)
8.31.15 cd	=	8.31.16 cd, 17 cd,	18 cd	(*Virāṭpaṅkti*)
8.36.1 cd ef	=	8.36.2 cd ef, 3 cd ef,	6 cd ef.	(*Śākvarī*)
8.42.4 cd	=	8.42.5 cd, 6 cd		(*Anuṣṭup*)

And this last,

8.34.1 cd	=	8.34.2 cd, 3 cd,—15 cd		(*Anuṣṭup*)

Here, it is to be noted that the hemistich under question is repeated in three different *vargas* (of the same

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14. I may point out here that the hymns 1.28 and 29 are composed by Śunaḥśepa Āgigarti and both of them show a stylistic pecularity in repeating their words with intention.

hymn) and the Pp has dropped it everywhere from verse 2 and onwards. Thus, the idea of one *varga* does not appear to be accepted by the Pp.

Now, the exceptions to the rule as regards the hemistiches :

1.36.7 ab =	8.69.17 ab	(*Bṛhatī*)
1.105.8 ab =	10.33.2 ab	(—"—)[15]
1.105.8 cd =	10.33.3 ab	(*Bṛhatī*)[15]
4. 47.4 ab =	6.60.8 ab	(*Anuṣṭup*, in 6.60.8, *Gāyatrī*)
4.55.10 ab =	8.18.3 ab	(*Gāyatrī*, in 8.18.3 *Uṣṇik*)
5.40. 3 ab =	8.13.3 ab	(*Uṣṇik*)
6.45. 3 ab =	8.12.21 ab	(*Gāyatrī*, in 8.-12.21 *Uṣṇik*)
8. 8.18 ab =	8.87.3 ab	(*Anuṣṭup*, in 8.87.3 *Bṛhatī*)
8.13.15 ab =	8.97.4 ab	(*Uṣṇik*, in 8.97.4 *Bṛhatī*)
8.38. 9 ab =	8.42.6 ab	(*Gāyatrī*, in 8.42.6 *Anuṣṭup*)
8.93. 6 ab =	9.65.22 ab	(*Gāyatrī*)
10.60. 8 cd =	10.60.9 cd	(*Nicṛtpaṅpti*)

Attention may be drawn to following peculiar case where two consecutive verses have their second himistiches wholly identical-these verses are 1.191.10 and 11 (*Nicṛdbrāhmyanuṣṭup*), However, the Pp renders the original word *sò* in the 10th as *sáḥ* (mas.) and in the 11th as *sò iti* (fem.); the entire remaining part of 11th is dropped by the Pp. The Pp thus gives a clear evidence that mere verbal identity does not form the basis of *galita*.[16]

15. Verse 1.105.8 is in *Svarāṭpaṅkti* and 10.33.2, also *Nicṛdbṛhatī* 10.33.3. in *Bhuṅgbṛhatī* (*So Anukramaṇī*)

16. The second hemistich of 1.191.12 (*Virāḍbrāhmyanuṣṭup*) differs very little from that in 10th and 11th, viz. the word *So* is replaced by *tāh* and *marāti* by *maranti*, and yet the Pp drops the rest of the words and appears to show mechanical dropping of the repetitions. This necessitates the ascertaining of the relation between the meaning and the *galita*.

As for the verse foot, this rule may be said to hold good more in the case of those which conclude the verses—and these are governed by rule 3—than in the case of others. Or rather, this rule is more disproved than it holds good.

The following few examples of the rule may, therefore, be cited before the exceptions are given:

8.35.4 b	=	8.38.5 b,	6 b
8.35.7 b	=	8.35.8 b,	9 b
8.35.10 b	=	8.35.11 b,	12 b
8.35.13 b	=	8.35.14 b,	15 b
8.35.16 b	=	8.35.17 b,	18 b
8.35.19 b	=	8.35.20 b,	21 b

All these examples are from a single hymn whose pecularity consists in purposeful repetition in each triad (*tṛca*).

1.97.1a = 1.97.1c, 2c.......................8c

In this example, there is an additional factor, viz. the first foot of the first verse is also the last foot of it, and also of all the following 7 verses; and thus rule 3 also may be said to be operative.

10.58.1 b = 10.58, 2 b, 3 b—12 b

Here verses 1—6 from one *varga* and verses 7—12 from another. Therefore, from the foot in 7 b should not have been dropped in the Pp as the corollary above would

indicate, but this is not so done. Now the exceptions:—

1.12.3 a/10b[17]	=	1.15.14 a
1.13.6 a	=	1.142.6 a
1.15.2 c	=	3.10 .7 c
1.16.4 a	=	3.42 .1 a
1.25.15 b	=	10.22.2 d
1.34.14 b	=	1.36.20 d
1.92. 7 a	=	1.113.4 a
1.103.2 a	=	2. 15.2 c
1.136.1 d	=	2. 41.6 a
1.136.3 c	=	2. 41.6 b
3.37.11 a	=	3. 40.8 a
4. 6.11 c	=	5. 3.4 c
7.57. 4 b	=	10.15.6 d

In all these instances, the earlier verse—foot is repeated only once and in a different *varga* yet the Pp has dropped it.

1.18.6 b	=	9.98.6 c; 100.1 b
1.92.6 a	=	1.183.6 a; 7.73.1 a
2.11.5 a	=	3. 39.6 c; 10.148.2 c

In these three instances, an earlier verse—foot is repeated twice and in two *vargas*; all the three are again different from one another.

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17. Though 1.12.3 a and 10 b are identical, the Pp does not drop the latter. The Gp might very well hold that the dropping was precluded by two different *vargas* in which the two occur, yet the problem would remain about the dropping of 1.15.4 a which also is in quite a differnt *varga*. Further, it would be necessary to determine as to whose repetition is 1.15.4 a; and this could be decided with the help of meaning—not only with that of verbal identity.

Rule 3 :

If the last foot of any verse occurs four times or more any where in the Saṁhitā, the Pp drops it in the places of repetition.[18]

It may be observed that this rule does not hold good in so far as repetition alone is concerned. The requirement that it should repeat three or more times is not correct. Instances can be cited where the relevent foot is repeated only once or twice and yet the Pp has dropped it in the places of repetition. In these instances of the *galita*, the verse foot is repeated only once :

1. 4.10 c	=	1. 5.4 c
1. 7.10 c	=	1.13.10 c
1.14.11 c	=	1.26. 1 c
1.23.21 c	=	10.57.4 c
1.37.4 c	=	8.32.27 c
1.37.8 d	=	9.69.10 d
1.110.7 c	=	7.59.2 a
1.162.6 d	=	1.162.12 d
3.37.11 d	=	3. 40. 9 c
4.16.21 d	=	4. 56. 4 d
5.16. 5 c	=	5. 17. 5 c
5.26. 1 c	=	8.102.16 c
6.71. 3 d	=	6. 75.10 d
8.10. 1 d	=	8. 10. 6 d

18. *(galet sarvatra) yo' nte' ṅghriś caturādigataḥ sa ca* verse 4

In the following instances of the *galita*, the verse foot is repeated only twice, and in different vargas :

1.84.10 c	=	1.84.11 e; 12 c
1.162.8 d	=	1.162.9 d, 14 d
8.9.3 d	=	8.9. 9 d, 10.2 b[19]

For the purpose of this paper, I have left out other instances in which the verse—foot in the earlier place(s) is final while that in the later is not final—and *vice versa* the verse—foot in the earlier place(s) is not final while that in the later is final.

Rule 4 :

A hemistich in Jagatī or triṣṭup metre is ever dropped by the Pp in the place(s) of it's repetition.[20]

This rule is wholly valid in the entire portion of the Pp. However, attention has to be drawn to those hemistiches in other metres which also are dropped likewise in the Pp—this is observed earlier under *rule 2*.

Rule 5 :

A group of three (or more)[21] *words occurring (atl east)*[21] *four times in the same Varga, is dropped by the Pp in the places of repetition.*[22]

This rule rightly lays down the minimum number of words that forms the basis of the *galita*.[23] However, the two conditions which are mentioned in it are not

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19. In 8.10.2, the verse—foot is not at the end of the Verse—it is at the end of the first hemistich.

20. *galec ca jāgato' rdharcas traiṣṭubhaṣ ca punar gataḥ*, Verse 5, p.3.

21. Brackets mine.

22. (*galec ca*). . . *caturādigataṁ varge yac caikasmin padatrayam*, verse 5, p.3.

23. Read "*galet padatrayādyeva*", verse 3 in the *pariśiṣṭa*, p. 43.

(always) warranted as is clear from many instances. The following are few of them :

sémáni naḥ in 1.16.5 a and 9. a, in two different *vargas*, not elsewhere.[24]

yác ciddh hì in 1.25a 1 a; 26.6a; 29.1;

obviously in three different *vargas*

yuṣmākam astu táviṣī in 1.39.2 c, 4 c;

though in the same *varga*, repeated only once.

trìr ā diváh 3.56.6a; 7a; 8d—though repeated in the same *varga*, repeated only twice.

evén nú kam 7.33.3a; 3b; 3c—in the same verse, but repeated only twice.

etāni vām aśvinā in 1.117.25a and 2.39.8a;

Obviously in two different *vargas* (even *Aṣṭakas*), and repeated only once.

úd u ṣyád evóḥ savitā in 2.38.1 a; 6.71.1a; 4á; 7.38.1—in three different *vargas*.

ná tam aṁho nú in 2.23.5a and 7.82.7a, in two different *vargas* and *Aṣṭakas*.[25]

stená īśata māghásaṁsaḥ in 2.42.3c and 6. 28.7c, in two different *vargas* and *Aṣṭakas*.

Many more such instances can be given; yet I refrain from giving them here, since these (given here) suffice to show that the rule is incorrect.

Argument is adduced that the repetition of two words is dropped by the Pp, as execption to this rule, in the following cases: [26]

24. These three words first occur in 1.14.11 c, as a part of foot which is wholly identical with 1.26.1c—this latter is dropped by the Pp. It is worthwhile to note that the Pp does not omit the three words in 1.16. 5 a, as a repetition from 1.14.11 c.

25. cf. "On the galitas in the Padapāṭha as a means of Ṛgvedic interpretition," Op. cit., pp. 67—68,

26. cf. the ***pariśiṣṭa*** in the Gp, verses 4–6; p.43.

(i) *yád indrāgnī* in 1.108.9 and 10.

(ii) *úta sthāḥ* ——"——

(iii) *pṛthivyām madhyamásyām*——"——

(iv) *nūtanāsaḥ sát* in 6.27.1 and 2.

(v) *Sújāte áśvasūnṛte* 5.79.4, 5 . . . 10 repeated from 5.79.1.

(vi) *agním Samudrávāsam* in 8.102. 5, 6 . . . . repeated from 8.102.4.

(vii) *indrāgnī sómapītaye* in 8.38.7, 9.

As regards the first three (i.e.i,ii and iii), it may be observed that the Pp has kept in view the total meaning of two verses 1.108.9 and 10 which remains the same despite the interchange of the places of the words *avamásyām* and *paramásyām* and has, therefore, dropped the whole of 1.108.10. This is another clear evidence to show that Pp does not adopt mere mechanical repetition as the basis for *galita*.

The fourth (i.e. iv) is not correctly pointed out. In fact, the Pp of the whole of 6.27.2 is highly exceptionable; it is certainly not in the case of the words *nūtanāsah sát* in their changed order that there is an exception as the *pariśiṣṭa* points out. This case is indeed very difficult to explain.

The remaining cases are governed by the rule 3, since each is a full verse-foot. The unit of an iden-verse-foot thus preponders over that of a group of words; this may be owing to the generally observed fact that a verse-foot (normally) expresses one full unit of meaning.

4. Thus far is discussed the validity of the rules which the Gp has formulated after observing the actual droppings (*galitas*) in the Pp. It may then be observed

that only the 1st and 4th rules are wholly true and the 3rd is only partially true. It may also be pointed out that the full verse (rule 1), half verse (rule 4) and verse-foot (rule 3), each expresses one full unit of meaning and the Pp must have kept this fact in view, while it dropped the repetitions. On the whole, the Gp has not succeeded in satisfactorily formulating the rules of droppings in the Pp, on the mechanical observation alone. And this becomes clearer owing to the fact that the Gp enumerated in it's second part such *galitas* as did not conform to the rules, it formulated in the first. Therefore, the Gp does not really serve a useful purpose which is expressed from a Vedāṅga work. Consequently, it follows that the significance of the *galitas* has to be understood under the lead of the principle enunciated by Mādhava and Veṅkaṭa Mādhava.

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TRUTH : A BUDDHIST PERSPECTIVE

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Vastutastu paramārtha eva ekam satyam.

What others call Buddhism is called *saddharma*, ('the True Doctrine') by the Buddhists. One of the most celebrated scriptures of Buddhism bears the title *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*, 'the discourse on the True Doctrine called the white lotus'. A medieval Pāli text, treating of the history of Buddhism, styles itself *Saddhammasaṃgaho*, 'the compendium of the True Doctrine'. Many other sacred texts of the Buddhists bear the term saddharma as a prefix to their captions, e. g. *Saddharmalaṃkāvatāra sūtra, Saddharmasmṛtyupasthānasūtra*, etc. For the Buddhist the Dharma is the Ultimate Truth revealed by an Omniscient Being for the weal and welfare of living beings. Many Buddhist and non-Buddhist writers remember the Buddha as the teacher of 'four holy truths'. Some Buddhist Sanskrit texts such as the *Āryasatyadvayāvatāra* seem to deal chiefly with the doctrine of 'two truths'. The 'four truths' and the 'two truths' are finally reduced to one ultimate Truth (*satya*).

It will be seen that we use the English term *truth* in this paper in place of two Buddhist terms : *satya* or *sacca* and *dharma* or *dhamma*.[1] Our purpose is not to explain the Buddhist theory in an epistemological sense; we are concerned here with human and religious meaning

1. For different meanings of *dhamma* (or *dharma*), see *Pāli-English Dictionary*, pp 335-7, London, 1966; W. Geiger, *Pāli-Dhamma*, Munich, 1921: P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol II. Pt. 1 pp. 2-11, Poona, 1941, and others.

of the Dharma as understood in Buddhism. We view Truth not as a philosophical problem but as the core of Buddhist vision which has been the foundation and norm of human ideals and ideas, hopes and aspirations, in a large area of the globe for about two and a half millennia now.

One of the first thoughts the Buddha entertained immediately after His Enlightenment is reported thus : "This Truth (*dharma*) that I have realized is profound, difficult to see, difficult to comprehend, excellent, supreme, transcendental to discursive thought, subtle, and to be known by the sages alone".[2] This description refers to the highest Truth the realisation of which constituted the Buddhahood of the Buddha. The fact that the Truth is hard to comprehend is emphasized here. In fact, the Truth that can be comprehended is not the Truth.[3] The contents of Buddha's Enlightenment are known to the world of men only to the extent He revealed them to his disciples. Only to this extent can we say that something of Enlightenment experience (*bodhi-lābha*) consisted of communicable ideas concerning the real nature of things as they are as well as concerning human ideals and practices. These ideas and ideals expressed and expounded by the knower of the Truth, in historically and linguistically conditioned context, are also called truths in human sense. It is by practising these truths that one can realise the supreme Truth; this is the chief concern of the Dharma in human history that it offers us a true soteriology. The Buddha said, addressing the monks around

2. *Mahāvastu*, p. 6, Ed. Bhikkhu J. Kasyap, 1956.

3. C p. *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy*, p. 139, Princeton, 1969.

Him for the last time on earth, "O brethren–Ye to whom the truths I have perceived have been made known by me—having thoroughly made yourselves masters of them, practise them, meditate upon them, and spread them abroad; in order that the holy culture may last long and be perpetuated, in order that it may continue to be for the good and happiness of the great multitudes, out of compassion for the world, to the good and the gain and the weal of the gods and men. Which then, O brethren, are the truths......? They are these; The four foundations of the mindfulness; the fourfold right struggle against evil; the four roads to saintship; the five faculties; the five cardinal virtues; the seven essentials of illumination; and the holy eightfold path."[4] These truths are otherwise called thirty-seven truths conducive to Enlightenment (*bodhipākṣika dharma*). It will be noticed that Bodhi or Nirvāṇa is called in the first statement the *dhammo* that passeth understanding; the elements of holy culture the perfect cultivation of which leads to the realisation of this *dhamma*, are also called *dhammā*. We have rendered the first as the ultimate Truth and the second as the truths. We can even say that Dharma is the end as well as the means; the word Dharma symbolises both the Goal as well as the path to reach it.[5] In Buddhist terminology, the first is called *Nirvāṇadharma*, the second *Mārgadharma*. The first is the Absolute Truth, transcendental and ineffable; the second is what we call Buddhist culture, practical religious truth, the teachings of the Buddha and of Buddhist sages.

4. *Dīghanikāya* II. p. 94 (Eng. Tr. by T. W. Rhys Davids, S B B III. 127-8, London, 1966.

5. See Bhikshu Sangharakshita *A Survey of Buddhism*, pp. 120-1, Bangalore, 1966.

Mention may be made here of two standpoints or two types of speech well known in Buddhist tradition. The one is our practical phenomnal or phenomenological standpoint, the other is the "wholly other", the standpoint of the transcendental Reality. This is the doctrine of two levels of statement or two truths that runs through the entire Buddhist tradition. According to Nāgārjuna (100 A.D.) "the religious instruction by the Buddhas has recourse to two truths; phenomenal truth and the absolute truth. Those who do not know this distinction between these two truths are incapable of knowing the profound Reality (*tattva*) in Buddha's teachings."[6] Nāgārjuna holds the same esteemed and authentic position in Buddhist tradition as does Śaṃkara (cir. 788 A. D.) in Brahmanical tradition. It is known that Śaṃkara's commentaries on *Upaniṣads* had more in common with Nāgārjuna's on Buddhist *sūtras* than either with Upanisadic contents or with any of the Brahmanical systems. This tenet of two truths was accepted by Śāṃkara-Vedānta and became vital to that system.[7] Students of European philosophy have noted a parallel to this doctrine of two standpoints also in the system of Spinoza (1634-77). The commentators of Pāli texts are in agreement on this point with their Mahāyāna brothers. Buddhaghoṣa observes that "The Perfectly Awakened One, the best of speakers, spoke two truths, namely, conventional truth and absolute truth, one does not come

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6. *Mādhyamika-śāstra* of Nāgārjuna, ***Buddhist Sanskrit Text*** [B. S. T.] No. 10 (1960) XXIV. 8-9: also T. R. V. Murti, *Central Philosophy of Buddhism*, p. 241 f f., London, 1960.

7. cp. S. N. Dasgupta, *A History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol I. pp. 422 ff., Cambridge, 1926. Also th. Stcherbatsky, *Buddhist Logic*, Vol I pp. 22 etc., New York, 1962.

across a third; a conventional speech is true because of the convention and an absolute speech is true as (disclosing) the real marks of things."[8] All conditioned things are suffering, impermanent and not-self, this is an example of absolute speech (*paramattha*), a discourse of direct meaning called *nītārtha* (*nītattha*). A discourse of indirect meaning, the meaning of which has to be inferred, and which is spoken in accordance with convention and usage, is called *neyārtha* (*neyyattha*) or *sammuti*. For instance, as Nāgasena says, "It is mere commonly received opinion, O King, that 'This is I', or "This is mine', it is not a transcendental truth."[9] Because, truly speaking, the notion of 'I' is false. Likewise, when the Buddha says, 'there is one individual', he says this merely from the worldly standpoint since in reality there is no such thing as an 'individual'. *Saṃvṛti* (*sammuti*) is relative and conventional truth; *paramārtha* (*paramattha*) is absolute and final truth. There is some difference of opinion among modern Theravāda Buddhist writers regarding relative position of *sammuti* or conventional and *paramattha* or absolute truth in the Pāli Canon.[10] But the generally accepted view is that the conventional truth is so called truth, provisional and ultimately unreal, whereas the absolute truth is the truth as it is, the really true (*amosadhamma*) and transcendental (*lokottara*).

It will be a grave error to imagine that Buddhist view of truth is dualistic, that Truth is divisible into

8. *Manorathapūraṇī*, Ed. M. Walleser-Kopp, Vol I. 95, London.

9. *Milindapañho*, Ed. R. D. Vadekar, p. 161, Bombay. 1940.

10. Ledi Sadaw, "Some Points in Buddhist Doctrine, ***Journal PTS*** (1914) pp. 115-63: also K. N. Jayatilleke, ***Early Buddhist Theory of Knowledge***, p. 364, London, 1962.

unreality and reality. Kumarila's criticism of Buddhist thought was founded on this error.[11] The Buddhists do not say that there are two degrees of truth and that one is false and another real. The Buddhist view is that *Nirvāṇa* is the only Truth which is real in the ultimate sense. There is no other truth. The *sammuti* is called truth only conventionally. This has been repeatedly taught in Buddhist scriptures in Pāli and Sanskrit. We read in the *Suttanipāta* :

ekaṃ hi saccaṃ, na dutiyamatthi. 'The Truth is one, there is not a second.[12] The force of this *ipse dixit* is felt and admitted in the Sanskrit *Vibhāṣā* of the *Sarvāstivāda* as well.[13] But Theravāda and Sarvāstivāda are not the only schools to report this *Buddhavacana*. The *Saddharmalaṃkāvatārasūtra* records almost the same thing in these words :

ekaṃ eva bhavet satyaṃ nirvāṇaṃ manavarjitam "There is only one Truth, which is *Nirvāṇa*; it has nothing to do with thought."[14] Yet another saying of the Buddha, affirming the sole reality of the Truth, reads thus :

ekaṃ eva bhikṣavaḥ paramaṃ satyaṃ yadut apramoṣadharma nirvāṇaṁ, "There is only one supreme Truth, O monks, and this is *Nirvāṇa*, the infallible Dharma."[15] A similar passage in the *Majjhimanikāya* reports the

11. See L. M. Joshi, *Studies is Buddhist Culture* of India, pp. 268-86, Delhi, 1967.

12. *Suttanipāta* IV. 12. 11 9, Nalanda, 1959.

13. Louis de La Vallee Poussian, 'Doceuments D' Abhidharma les Deux, Saṃghabhadra", *Melanges Chinois et Bouddhiques* V. 161, Bru x ell es, 1937.

14. *Saddharmalaṃkāvatārasūtra*, Ed. B. S. T., No. 3 (1963) III. 18: Eng. Tr. D. T. Suzuki, Landon, 1968.

15. Quoted from a *Mahāyānasūtra* (now lost) in the *Bodhi Caryāvatārapañjikā*, Ed. B. S. T. No. 12 (1960) on IX. 2 p. 175.

Buddha's saying thus : *tam hi bhikkhu musā yam mosa dhammam, taṁ saccam yam amosadhammam. etam hi bhikhhu paramam ariyasaccam yadidam amosadhammam nibbānam.* This means : "Monk, that is falsehood which is liable to falsity. Monk, *Nirvāṇa* is the ultimate holy Truth, the infallible Reality."[16] From the standpoint of ultimate Reality all that is conventional is unreal and false. Conventional concepts and words relate to the conventional things and not to the supreme Truth. Of the 'four holy truths' first, second and fourth belong to the category of conventional truth (*samvṛtisatye-antarbhavanti*), the third, truth of extinction (*nirodha*), is the only ultimate truth (*paramārthasatya*).[16a]

This Truth or *Nirvāṇa* is wholly indescribable and unthinkable (*acintya*).[17] The Buddhist scriptures have given some attempted descriptions of it, a few positive but most of them negative. For instance, it is called the 'Supreme Goal' (*paramatthapattiyā*),[18] and the Buddha is called the 'seer of the Supreme Reality' (*paramatthadassi*).[19] It is the Eternal (*amata, amṛta*) and incomparable (*atulya*); it is the Thusness of Being (*bhūtatathatā*), where there is neither truth nor falsehood (*na tatra satyam na mṛṣā*);[20] it is the emptiness *śūnyatā*), that is empty of everything, devoid of all duality and plurality. It is the state of Being so (*tatthya*), the state of suchness (*tathatā*): the Reality of realities (*dharmāṇām dharmatā*): it is called the Climax of Wisdom (*prajñā pāramitā*); it is also called the

16. *Majjhimanikāya* Nalanda III. p. 330.
16a. *Bodhicariyāvatārapañjikā*. p. 175.
17. *Aṅguttaranikāya* (Nalanda) II. p. 84.
18. *Suttanipāta*, Verse 68.
19. *Ibid.* verse 22
20. *Majjhimanikāya*, p. 217.

Non-Dual (*advaya*).[21] Yet every conceivable name we may give to it is essentially false, because it is beyond names and concepts.[22] It is only conventionally that we name it and seek to describe it. In reality it is the absolute cessation, the utter extinction (*nirodha*) of all that we here know, see, and say. The Buddha is described as one who has spent up all perception and thought construction. *Nirvāṇa* is utterly inconceivable. Therefore, "all conceptions of *Nirvāṇa* are misconceptions."[23] Only a Buddha 'sees' and 'knows' what Bodhi is. But even he cannot describe it. All description is a limitation, a condition, whereas the ultimate Truth is Limitless (*ananta*), and Unconditioned (*asaṁskṛita*). Its likeness exists nowhere.[24] A Buddha is a Buddha because he is a Buddha, the Awakened one. Those living in darkness cannot measure or describe him who is Awakened. The scripture says, "There is no measure to him who has gone to rest; he keeps nothing that could be named. When all *dharmas* are abolished, all paths of speech are also abolished."[25] Our mundane words cannot express that which is supramundane; speech is not a way to the Truth;[26] philosophy is not a road to Deathlessness; therefore, he describes the Truth most eloquently who does not describe it. Here if anywhere else, silence is eloquence; because the ultimate *Dharma* is the calm, it has only one

21. *Madhyamakaśāstra* I. 2

22. *Aṣṭādaśasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, Ed. and Tr. by E. Conze, Vol. XXVI. p. 24. Rome, 1962

23. Vide *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, Ed. B. S. T. No. 4 (1960) pp. 20-2.

24. E. Conze, *Buddhist Thought*, p. 57

25. *Suttanipāta*, Verse 1148 (PTS)

26. *Ibid* (Nalanda) V-7.

mark, and that is, that it has no mark.[27] This is the Absolute Truth,[28] the ultimate Reality, the incomprehensible "Comprehensive".[29] It is not, however, the *mysterium tremendum*,[30] an Aweful Mystery; it is called *śivam*, 'auspicious', *śāntam*' 'Peace', *sukham* 'Bliss' and *amṛtam* 'Immortality'.[31]

We have seen that there is only one ultimate Truth, that is *paramārthasatya;* we have also noticed that what is called *saṃvṛti* or conventional truth is ultimately unreal. The question may now be raised; why talk of that which is unreal and false ? The Buddhist answer is that which is unreal is also conventional and is a means to the absolute and the ultimately real; *Vyavahārasatya* is the means, *paramārtha satya* is the Goal.[32] Otherwise how can we obtain the state of purification while living in an impure world ? Nāgarjuna says that "the Absolute Truth is not taught apart from the conventional behaviour; and without reaching the Absolute Truth, one cannot obtain peace."[33] As we said earlier, in order to reach *Nirvāṇadharma* we have to tread the *Mārgadharma*. *Saṃvṛti* is to be rejected only on reaching *paramārtha;* the practical *dharma* is the ladder to rise to the summit of

27. *Aṣṭādaśasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, p. 150.

28. Ibid: p. 162.

29. cp. W. Rahula, *What the Buddha Taught,* pp. 35-45, New York, 1962

30. On the use of the word "the Comprehensive", see K. Jaspers, *Way to Wisdom* . . . Eng. Tr. by R. Manheim, p. 30. New Haven, 1967

31. Rudolf Otto, *The Idea of the Holy,* Tr. by J. W. Harvey, pp. 25 ff. London, 1969.

32. On *Nirvāṇa,* see *Udāna* VIII. 1-2 Verse 80-81.

33. *Madhyamakāvatāra*, VI. 80.

Reality.[34] The Buddha compares his teaching (*dharma*) with a raft which is to be used only to cross over the stream of miserable existence (*saṃsāra*).[35] As soon as one reaches the other shore, one is freed and delivered from bondage and the raft is no longer useful. Likewise all our thought-forms and paths of speech cease to have any meaning and disappear altogether as soon as we discover the Absolute Truth. The utility of holy life, of religious culture, lies in this that it is a means to attain perfect Holiness (*visuddhi*) or Freedom (*vimutti*).

The teachings of the Buddha are a means to reach the Truth.[36] They are true in so far as they serve this final aim; they become true when they are put to practice in accordance with their spirit. It needs no demonstration to say that they have been true in the history of Buddhist religiousness; they have been the inexhaustible source of supreme moral excellence, of universal loving kindness, of an unparalleled spirit of unselfishness, of the liberation of man from the self-system, in a word, of a most remarkable culture known to human history which has inspired and begotton a whole range of higher human values and sacred ideals. Who knows how many beings have been awakened since the days of Gautama ? It is these that constitute the human side of the truth in Buddhist history; it is these that will continue to make Buddhism true; it is these that prove or disprove the truth of Buddhism; whether Buddhism has been a true religion or a false one is to be judged by its fruits in terms of its

34, *Madhyamakaśāstra* XXIV. 10.

35 *Abhisamayālaṃkāra-Ālokavyākhyā*, Ed. B. S. T. No. 4. 346

36 *Majjihimanikāya* I. pp. 179-80

contribution to the religiousness and civilized growth of mankind.[37] It is only by living up to the truths proclaimed by the knower of the Truth that one becomes worthy of knowing the truth of those truths and then and then only can one hasten to make a judgement about their truth and falsity. Otherwise, one will only be adding arrogance to one's ignorance. As we said in the beginning of th's essay, Buddhist religious culture is founded on the revelation of the Truth[38] by the Buddha. The Buddhists also appeal to the spiritual intuitions of the Arhats and saints (*bodhisattvas*). The scriptures have preserved the statements of these awakened beings. The truth of these statements can be known and seen also by each one of us through self-realisation. The phrase 'self-realisation' in Buddhist context means that truth is *paccatam veditabbo viññūhi* or *pratyātmavedanīya* or *pratyātmagocara*, i.e., to be known and seen by oneself directly. It is from this standpoint of 'radical empiricism' in the sense of 'seeing' or 'penetrating' by means of 'insight' (*paññā, prajña*) into the reality as it is (*yathābūta*) that *Nirvāṇa* is given cognitive attributes and is called *sandiṭṭhiko* or "visible here" and *ehipassiko* "inviting to come and see." A person of stilled thoughts is said to see, know things as they are. Moderation in conduct, watchfulness, mindfulness and contemplation are indispensable for grasping the meaning of such pregnant words as 'suffering' (*duḥkha*), 'impermanence' (*anitya*) 'not-self' (*anātma*), 'compassion' (*karuṇā*), 'emptiness' (*śūnyatā*) 'conditioned things' (*dharmas; saṃskāras*), 'dependent origination' (*pratītyasamutpāda*), 'quiescence' (*upaśama*),

37 cp. F. J. Streng, Emptiness—*A study in Religious meaning*, p. 177, Nashville, 1967.

38, See W. C. Smith, *Questions of Religious Truth*, p. 65, New York, 1967

and the like. In other words, these are soteriological terms and their meaning cannot be grasped apart from maditational and moral practices. No amount of logical, semantic, psychological, and analytical study would help us in 'seeing and experiencing' the truth of the Buddhist teaching.[39] The purpose of Buddhism is to train human beings according to the right views so that they can go beyond the realm of views and doctrines, decay and death. Everything else has to be subordinated to this supreme quest of the Truth. For, the Buddha has said that "the taste of Truth excels all the other tastes"[40] and that "the gift of truth excels all the other gifts."[41] The entire body of the sacred teaching has just one purpose: freedom from ignorance (*avidyā*) and its invariable concomitant, turmoil (*duḥkha*). "Just as the great ocean, monks, has one taste, the taste of salt, even so, monks, this Doctrine and Method has one taste, the taste of liberation (*vimutti-rasa*)."[42] This, then, is the matter of Buddhism, the truth of Buddhism, the truth about Buddhism, that it has the taste of Liberation, the taste of Truth. It is a true way to the Truth; a soteriology based on the teachings of a rightly Awakened Teacher. This side of Buddhism is practical empirical and can be "examined" or "seen" by the seeker. Its truth will be relative to the individual involved in prac-

39, E. Conze, op. c it., p. 30

40, Stcherbatsky, loc. cit. It should be noted here that Buddhims is essentially a soteriology, a path of Liberation.

41, *Saṃyuttanikāya* (Nalanda) I. p. 39.

42, *Dhammapada,* Verse 354-a.

43, *Cullavagga* (*Vinayapiṭaka*), Nalanda edn., p. 357. In the *Aṅguttaranikāya* (Nalanda) *I.* p. 37, *attharasa,* 'the taste of Reality', *dhammarasa,* 'the taste of Truth' are given as synonymns of *Vimuttirasa,* 'the taste of Liberation'.*

*Footnotes abridged by the Editorial Board.

tice, and in this process of growth on the path of truth, one may be more truthful than the other; one may succeed earlier than the other, and so on. All those who follow the way to the Truth are not equally gifted, nor identical in all respects. But the way is open to everyone without any discrimination, and the Goal is devoid of all discriminations whatsoever. Those with faith and zealous practice will succeed in their endeavours. The moral law of *karma*, which is fundamental to Buddhist system of faith, teaches that the Truth can be reached only by pursuing the true or right path to the Truth. For the Buddhists the true or right path is the one expounded by the Buddha. The question whether the paths expounded by others are true or false does not arise here; this question may be interesting to a modern student of Comparative Religion or the History of Religions, but is of no consequence to a man of *faith*. A person will have to verify for himself the truthfulness of a particular path of religiousness he chooses. At the initial stage, one needs faith (*śraddhā*). This brings us to the foundation of Buddhist religiousness; *faith in the Buddha and the Dharma*. Without this there is no Buddhist perspective of the Truth nor a Buddhist way to it. While the Truth does not need our faith in it and does not depend on our knowing it, a way to it, however, has been the hallmark of the history of *homo religiosus*. Buddhist life and culture have been the result of faith of those whom we call Buddhists. The "Torchbearer of Mankind" (*ukkādhāro manussānaṃ*) out of compassion for the suffering beings, has shown the way to Truth; by following that way we will reach the Truth. It is with this conviction, in an act of supreme faith, out of a sense of ultimacy and total commitment that the Buddhists have been taking "refuge" in the Buddha and the

Dharma, with a view to grow in holiness; with a view to live up to the truths, to master the truths, that pave the way, and to see that Truth which cannot be told of. That which is beyond all questions cannot be reduced to conformity with our mundane modes of thought and theorisation. In the ultimate analysis, this Truth is free from all labels; it is neither Buddhist nor Brahmanical, neither Christian nor Islamic. Buddhist quest concerns with the eradication of all obstacles on the road to Truth and with the cultivation of all those virtues that make this road. All that does not concern this quest is secondary and prolongs the round of birth and death.

A CRITICAL STUDY OF CH. V OF EPISTLE I OF MANUŠČIHR GŌŠN-JAMĀN

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Introductory Remarks:

In this paper for Pt. K. Chattopadhyaya Felicitation Volume I have selected Chapter V, Epistle I of Manuščihr, one of the most difficult texts in Pahlavi Literature. I have based my transcription on the text "Nāmakīhā ī Manuščihr" edited by Ervad B.N. Dhabhar, Bombay 1912 as well as the variants given in the footnotes to the text. Ervad Dhabhar has relied on the Mss W and BK for his edition instead of the important Mss MR, MR_1, and J as can be seen from the footnotes given by me to the Transcription. The text edited by Dhabhar lacks marks of punctuations, which I have shown in my Transcription. I have not followed the numbering of paragraphas as given by Ervad Dhabhar, but I have divided the text of this chapter into paragraphs and sentences according to the best of my judgment and have added marks of punctuations. I have divided the text into two paragraphs, where as Ervad Dhabhar has assigned eight paragraphs to this chapter. Dr. E. W. West translated these Epistles of Manuščihr into English in the S. B. E. Vol. XVIII. Oxford, 1882. Ervad Dhabhar translated these three Epistles into Gujarati with notes wherever he deemed necessary in 1921 A. C. I have differed from these learned authorities and the points of difference have been shown by me in the foot-notes to the text in Transcription and Translation.

I have dealt with the words hitherto not understood or deciphered properly in the Notes.

Manuščihr Gōšn-jamān wrote three Epistles (nāmakīhā) on the subject-matter of the Barašnūm Ceremony to be undergone by a person coming in contact with the dead. From the Epistles it follows that Zātsparam wanted to do away with the law of the Barašnūm purification as described in Vīdēvdāt IX. 1–36. and to utilise in its stead a simple fifteen-fold ablution for all kinds of contamination as mentioned in Vīdēvdāt VIII. 99-103. As gleaned from these Epistles Manuščihr Gōšn-jamān, the Pontiff, solved the problem by well-balanced arguments, tact, exhortation and persuation. In this chapter the commentaries of Aparaγ, Mētyōkmāh and Sōšāns are explained by Zātsparam in such a manner as to carry out ultimately his own viewpoint. Here Zātsparam seems to maintain some solitary opinion of one of the above-mentioned commentators in order to enforce his opinion on the question at issue. But he should understand that the solitary teaching of that commentator is not the whole statement on the subject-matter in dispute.

Signs

( ) indicate words inserted by the writer to round off the grammatical structure of the English translation or to make clear the sense.

+ + indicate that the word is corrupt.

* indicate the theoretical form.

< > indicate insertion in the text as required by the context.

Transcription.

1. Uškārišn ut čāštak¹ ān ī² nipištak ī-tān miyān nipištak ī nāmak frēstīt druvist bōžišnīh-ē andar nēst, ī Patiš ān ī frārōn dārišnīhā kartak vartēnītan³ sačēt; čē hakar ō-č ān ī-š hač gōβišn ī Mētyōmāh ut Aparaγ ut-Sōšāns nipišt ēstēt yut yut gōβišn čāštak ī⁴ ham dastōβarān hast, aδak-ič passāčišn <ut> paδtākīh ī hač-iš nē ōγōn čēγōn ān ī-š pat frāč passāčišnīh fravastak; ut-aš paδtāk sahist pargast ku ōy mayūyān⁵ hač rāstīh-ič⁶ pat, aivāp-aš mayūyān ō kāmak vičērīh raft,⁷ aivāp-aš ākāsīhā ān aδvēnak ī *nipišt⁸ ī čēγōn-aš pat oxᵛ varravist ku nikēž ī dēn, čāštak ī dastōβarān hast, bē tā rasišn ī a-brātarōt Sōšāns kas pat bavandak dānišn a-vaxr andar axᵛān⁹ nē vaxt <čē> nāmčišt druǰ pat mēnišn ī dēn dastōβarān anzamānīktar Kōxšēt¹⁰ vičēr ī Dēn, ut, patiš-ič (ptaš-č) brātarōtōmandīh ī hērān; ān hast ka apēčak mēnišnān satxak¹¹-nikīrīt purrgōβtārān tēž vīrīh ut dēnīk-čīhrān hu-čašmīh apar bōžišn apar-nikīrišnīk¹² ham mayūγ (mywwy) a-frēβtārīh ī xᵛat saxtak¹³-nikīrišnīh kām ī-š apar purr-vistrišnīh ī dēnīk hamōk¹⁴ rāδ tēž vīrīh vihān¹⁵ ī-š*ōy (WL) bōžišn ī dēn *nīrang (ayrwy) ī yut-patkārān vīnārtan rāδ, hu-čašmīh apar xᵛat bōžišn ī hačiš¹⁶ xōk hast.

2. Ān-ič ī-š hač ān bōžišnīhā fravastak, passāxtak, paδtākēnītak mēnēt, hač ēn¹⁷ sī čēm apērtar sahom :ān¹⁸ ī-š saxtak-nikīrišnīh¹⁹ ī Mētyōkmāh pat čāštak ī Māt-yōkmāhīk, ut ān ī Aparaγ ut Sōšāns har ēvak pat

čaštak-ē mēnīt[20], ut-aš tēž *brīnīhā[21] (brynn gās) har čē ēvak hač ōyšān gūft pat paδtākīh ī hač čaštak[22] vičēr apar kart, ut-aš hū-čašmīhā pat bōžīšn[23] ī x^{v}ēš ōšpurrīk mēnīt, ut-aš nē mat ēstēt passāčak ham-uškār[24]<ut> apāč-nimūtār rāδ, an-ētōnīh aβiš nē *drōtīhist,[25] ut ka passox^{v} ī rāst ápāč-nimūtārān āsnōβēt, pat bavandak-mēnišnīh ūzvārēt, x^{v}at ōstōkīhēt ku čaštak <ī> Mētyōmāh nē hamāk gōβišn ī Mētyōkmāh; čē vas dātistān hast ī Mētyōkmāh aδvēnak-ē gūft, pat mātakvar čaštak[26] ī Mētyōkmāhīk hān aδvēnak vičērēnīt[27] ēstēt; nē har čē Metyōkmāh gūft nē x^{v}ap pat čaštak ī Metyōkmāhīk; ēvar ku nē šāyēt čē vas ī pat šāyistakīh gūft ēstēt.

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1. Dhabhar has retained these two words at the end of Ch. IV: rightly they begin Ch. V as done by me.

2. Following Ms MR.

3. ut after vartēnītan as given by Dhabhar is omitted as per Mss. MR, MR_1,

4. So Mss. MR, MR_1. and J.

5. So MR; the rest mēnōk gām. Dhabhar suggests kām for gām which is not proper.

6. Following Mss MR, MR_1, and J: Mss. W and BK ī instead of ič. Dhabhar in f. n. 5 p. 25 suggests that the letter č should be read with the next word pat as 'Jaft', Comparing Persian 'Jaftan', "to be inclined, to be bent".

7. Following Mss MR, MR_1, and J; text gives ideog. Sātūnēt =Ir rōβēt.

8. Corrected by me; reading of the Mss. *WKWŠTW*, which is read by Dhabhar as "vukušt" and translated "Contrary".

9. So Mss MR, MR_1, and J: Mss W and BK give ax^v.

10. Test gives WD=Ir tā, tāk as per Ms. W: Ms. BK WZ: J W̌Z; MR omits and I have omitted if following MR.

11. Text gives the reading šāt whereas Mss MR, MR_1, and J give saxtak, past part of inf. saxtan, to weigh: Besides I have taken, saxtak-nikīrīt as a compound word.

12. So MR and BK; MR_1, omits letter n of nikīrišnīk.

13. So MR; the rest Wyštkw

14. Corrected; text gives hamak

15. So Mss. MR. and J; text gives hār

16. Following Mss MR, MR_1, and J: MNŠ: text gives MWN-š=kē-š

17. So MR, MR_1, ; the rest MNYWM=Ir čiš as given in the text.

18. So MR, MR_1, and J ; text omits it.

19. Dhabhar commences para 6 with the words saxtak-nikī-rišnīh, which is a repetition and is deleted by me

20. So MR manītan; I have corrected it into mēnītan. Dhabhar gives manīt nimūt as per Mss Wand BK.

21. Corrected; all mss. BRYNN yh S=brīn gās

22. Thus MR; the rest čāštak-ē

23. So MR and J; the rest WŽŠNN=vičišn

24. Thus MR and MR_1; rest ham-uškārišn.

25. Corrected on the basis of the ms. MR ŠLMWYH stn; text gives a-Xūmbīhišt... ŠLM-ideog. Ir drōt; hence drōtīhist.

26. Added as per Mss MR, MR_1, and J

27. Thus MR, MR_1, ; the rest vičērēnītan

Translation

1. There is no sound explanation[1] in the deliberation and doctrine of the writing which you sent along with the writing of the Epistle, whereby with lawful preservation usage ought to be uttered; for even if what he has written from the statements of Mētyōmāh,[2] Aparaγ[2] and Sošāns are each separately the statements and teachings of these Dasturs, even then his composition and publication (are) not such as what he evidently felt comprised[3] in the composition. Perhaps (it may be) that he is the chieftain[4] of the Magi (maγūγān) even[5] owing to truthfulness or that the Magi went to him for a desirable decision or that his informations (include) such type of writing[6] as he believed with zeal[7] (aXᵛ) that they are the exegesis of the Religion and the teachings of the Dasturs; but until the advent of the unrivalled[8] Sōšāns there is no person destined (vaxt)[10] in the existences with perfect and flawless[9] knowledge; specially the Druǰ strives for in the minds of the Dasturs of the Religion most unopportune decrees of the Religion and thereby (patiš-ič) too it becomes the rivalry of the riches, when owing to the sharp intelligence of the voluminous speakers having pure thoughts and balanced observation, friendliness of these having a religious temperament as regards explanations to be noticed (apar-nikīrišnīk), lack of deceit of the weighty observations of this '*magu*' himself, and the desire of his for a full dissemination of religious instruction and owing to sharp intellect of which the apparent cause (vihān) (was) to establish (vīnārtan) the explanation of religious ritual[11] (nīrang) for the disputants there is a good regard for his own explanation which (arises) from his temperament (xōk).

2. Also that which he considers encompassed, consistent (passaxtak) and manifested by these explanations I feel very particularly owing to these three reasons: that which he considered to be the balanced observation of Mētyōkmāh from the teachings pertaining to Mētyōkmāh and those of Aparaγ and Sošāns from a decree of each one and he set up (apar kart) a decision with proof from a teaching with sharp divisions of whatever each of those said; and he considered it perfect with a good regard with his own explanation and he has not come across a suitable consultant and remonstrator; the state of its not being such[12] was not welcome[13] by him : And when he listens to the reply of the just remonstrators and expounds it with perfect mind, he himself will feel confident that (the said) teaching of Mētyōkmāh is not the entire statement of Mētyōkmāh, for there are many decrees which Mētyōkmāh stated in one way and which the followers of Mētyōkmāh have decided in another way with an important decree. It is not that all what Mētyōkmāh said is not properly in consonance with the Mētyōkmāhīk decree, it is certain that even many a thing is mentioned as being proper is not proper.

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1. *bǒžišnīh :* abst. n from inf. bǒxtan (i) to explain (2) to deliver, to save, to release, meaning (i) explanation, elucidation, proof, argument (ii) release, rescue, escape, salvation, deliverance. This word is generally known for the second meaning in Pahlavi. Particularly in the Epistles of Manuščihr this meaning 'explantion, proof, argument' suits the context better. Cf D. N. Mackenzie, An Early Jewish Persian Argument in BSOAS XXX. 1968 p.253. Inf. bǒxtan may be compared with Av √ bunǰ, buǰ, Skt मुच्, मुंच्; Sassan. Inscs. būkhtakī, Pāz. boxtan (P. Horn, NP Ety. 270). cf.

bōžišn Ep. I. ch 5. para 7: Ch. 3, para 3; Ep. II Ch. 2, para 1: bōxtēt Ep. II. Ch. 2 para 3. See my paper on 'chapter II of Epistle II of Manuščihr in the Proceedings and Transactions of the All-India oriental Conference, Srinagar, Kashmir Vol. II Part II p. 6 and p. 8. See Henning, Das Verbum des Mittelpersischen der Turfanfragmente, Z11, IX. p. 197.

2. Names of the Commentators of the Sassanian Age. Their teaching and doctrines are quoted by the authors in the Pahlavi texts Šāyist-Nē-Šāyist, Nīrangistān, Pahvali Vīdēvdāt in support of their statements.

3. *fravastak :* Comprised, contained, encompassed (Zaehner, Zurvān p. 468) from inf fravastan, Av fra+√band, to surround, tŏ encompass, to comprise. Cf. fravast Ep. I. Ch. 1.1; fravast ēstēt Ep. I, Ch. 1.2; fravastan Ep. II. Ch. 9.7; a-fravast Ep. II. Ch. II. 1. See Dātistān ī Dēnīk 38.14 : ut-aš fravašt pat fravand vīspān rōšnān čēγōn fravand ān ī har visp-ākās Xrat fravast bavēt vispān-ākās yazdān, i.e., and it encompasses all the luminaries as with a girdle and omniscient wisdom is encompassed by the omniscient god

4. I have adopted the reading of the Ms. MR maγūγān, pl. of maγūγ. av. moγu. Dhabhar has given in the text maγūγ gām or dām and in the fn 4 he remarks: "Thus all for kām" and translates "the desire of the Mōbed". But the word is correctly maγūγān as given in the Ms. MR.

5. In the text Dhabhar gives ī as per Mss W and BK and suggests in the fn. 5: "better č for ī as in the rest to be read with the next word as čapt, P. čafdan, to be inclined, to be bent." But this emendation of Dhabhar is not proper as can be seen from my reading and tranaslation of the sentence in question : ōy maγūγān hač rāstīh-ič pat = he is the chieftain of the magi even owing to truthfulness. It will now be seen that there is no need to change the text at all.

6. **Nipišt* - corrected by me. The word means 'writing' from inf nipištan, ideog. YKTYBWNTNN; Old Persian pīš, Av ni+√paēs, Skt निपिश् N Pers. nivišdan, to write, to depict. See

R. G. Kent, Old Persian Inscriptions Glossary p. 194 S. V. paiθ. All Mss give the text WKWSˇTW. Dhabhar reads "wukusht" and compares with N Pers bagashtan and translates "twisted, turned, down. But really, speaking the letters KW can be amended to read letter p. and hence my suggestion nipisˇt, which gives the sense of the sentence properly as can be seen from my translation.

7. *Pat axᵛ* = with zeal, with will-power. There are various meanings of the word aXᵛ: (1) existence, av. aṁhu; (2) lord Av. ahu-; (3) zeal, will power, will, Av aṁhvā. For further details see Zaehner, Zurvān p. 53 fn. 1. Dhabhar has left out this phrase untranslated.

8. *a-brātarōt* : without a rival, without antagonism; derived, from a neg. part, not+brātarōt rival, adversary, antagonist. See BSOS. X. p. 311 and Zachner, Zurvān, A Zoroastrian Dilemma p. 193. Prof Menasce (Škand Gumānīk Vičār p. 30) translates 'bratarōt' "semblable et apparente", i.e., similar or alike and related. The word brātarōtīh is associated with 'hamīstār' in Pahlavi literature The word originated from the name *Tur ī Brātarot, Tur ī Brātarokreš*, who was the bitter enemy of the prophet zartōšt and who eventually killed him. Cf. Pahl. Riv Dd. p. 141.4: Tur ī Brātarōxš pat gurg aδvēnak bē būt, ut-aš zartōšt bē aβzat, i.e., Tur Brātarōxš was in the form of a wolf and he killed Zartōšt. See Zand ī Vohuman yasn Ch. III. 4; Dēnkart ed. by Madon 334.11 and 17 and Vičītakīhā ī Zātsparam Ch. X. 20.

9. *a-vaxr* : without detraction, flawless, from inf vaxrītan, to detract Cf Dātištān ī Dēnīk Puršišn 47 : a-vaxr ut a-zīfān. See Menasce, ŠGV XVI. 76, 101 and XV. 39 where we find vāhar in Pāzand. Prof. Menasce translates "errone, absurde", i.e. erroneous, false, mistaken. Hence a-vaxr would mean "without flaws, without mistakes". See Zaehner, Zurvān p. 394-396. See my notes in Prof Henning Memor'al Volume edited by M. Boyce and Ibya Gershevitch, London. 1970. p. 227.

10. *vaxt∠baxt*, past part. of baxtan, to destine, to allot, to ordain; cf. Dd I. 11: vaxt; III: ān xrat kē-š kām mēnōkān yazdān

apar šnāsēt nē *vaxt* bē dēn ī rāst ī apēčak, ī hast mēnōkān dānišn, ī frahangān frahang ut ustātihān ustātīh, tōxmakīh ī visp dānišnān, i.e., that wisdom by which one understands about the desire of the spiritual yazats is not *ordained* (to be) but the true and pure religion, which is the knowledge of the Spirits, the science of sciences, the teaching of teachings and the source of all knowledge. For Dātistān ī Dēnīk, Puršišn I, see my paper in Professor Morgenstierne Commemoration Volume-Indo-Iranica, Wiesbaden. 1964.

11. *AyRND :* I have corrected this word *erang into 'nīrang'* as required in the Context—Pāz. nīrang, Skt transcription nīranga, N Pers. nīrang, Arab nairanj-meaning, ceremonial, ritual On the word nīrang see Bailey, Iranian Studies III in BSOS Vol. VII part 2, 1934 pp. 276-279. Dhabhar reads the word in question "a-darūγ" and translates "free from falsehood." Alternatively he suggests "dēn-aērang" and translates "destruction of the religion." But neither the word ērang or a-drōγ is proper and suitable here in the context. See Epistle I, Ch. II. S: dēn ērang (MR nīrang, MR_1, and J NAYRND) ī yīd-patkārišn. Better nīrang as per Ms. MR: cf. also para *ibid.* dēnīk ērangīhā instead of the correct dēnīk-nīrangīhā. Here I may quote an instance of the problem of Pahlavi decipherment which I have come across in this chapter in the word written ērang-AYRND. The problem is : how to read the letter a. The writers of the Pahlavi Mss. being well-conversant with New Persian have often whole words, parts of words or a single letter of a word in New Persian characters, and in some places we find that the copyists of Pahlavi Mss. have misread the Pahlavi letter n as New Persian alif and written a in its stead. Here the copyist has written ērang for the correct nīrang. cf asrušt for nasrušt and arm for varm, narm. Hence I have suggested the word nīrang instead of ērang of the text on this hypothesis.

12. *an-etonīh :* lit. not suchness, not exactness, derived from an-neg part. not+ētōnīh, abst n. from ētōn, thus, meaning suchness, exactness. cf the form Anc. Ind. tathātvam—meaning lit. "being thus," actuality, exactness. A passive verbal formation from ētōn. 'thus' is ētōnīhēt, it is being thus, it comes true, See Bartholomae, WZKM. 29.44 ff. and Miran M. I. 38. See Zaehner, Zurvān p. 208:

ōγōn dātōβar Xrat nihuftak čiš pat ētōnīh aivāp *an-etonīh* hač ākāsīh ī ān dēn patgrēt, i.e. "Wisdom is represented as a Judge who knows the truth or untruth of hidden things by the knowledge of Religion." cf. Mātīkān ī Hažār Dātistān 6.4f: pat nē ētōnīh ī ān hamāk čiš ētōnīh ī ān ī xvēš apač apāyēt guftan.

13. Text gives *a-humbihist.* Dhabhar reads a-khumbīhēt and derives it from inf. khūmbīdan, to cover, to close, But he translates quite differently "he could not understand. "Both his reading and meaning are not correct. Ms. MR gives a reading *ŠLMWyh Stnn*; ŠLM=Ir. drōt, drūt, praise, mercy, benediction, greetings, vide Junker, Fr p. 1955 edition, p. 6 and 1912 Edition p. 82. Hence the word should be read *drotīhist,* is greeted, is blessed, is welcome. The sentence an-ētōnīh aβix nē drōtīhist, i.e, inexactitude of it was not welcome by him.

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निर्ग्रन्थ का चातुर्याम–'सर्ववारिवारितो' का अर्थ

दलसुख मालवणिया

पालिपिटक में दीघनिकाय-सामञ्ञफलसुत्त में और अन्यत्र भगवान् बुद्ध के समकालीन अनेक तीर्थंकरों के मतका निर्देश है। उनमें जैनधर्म के प्रवर्तक भगवान् महावीर के मतका भी निर्देश मिलता है। वहाँ भगवान् महावीर को 'निगंठ नात-पुत्त' (इसके पाठान्तर भी मिलते हैं) कहा गया है। जैन आगम में भी भगवान् महावीर के लिए अनेक वार 'नायपुत्त' (ज्ञातृपुत्र) नाम मिलता है। अतएव विद्वानों ने भगवान् महावीर का ही मत पालिपिटकों में नातपुत्त के नाम से दिया गया है—इसे स्वीकृत किया है। यहाँ जो उनका विशिष्ट मत सामञ्ञफलसुत्त में बताया गया है, उसी की चर्चा करनी है। उसमें जो पाठ है वह इस प्रकार है—

निगण्ठो नातपुत्तो मं एतदवोच–'इध महाराज, निगण्ठो चातुयामसंवुतो होति। कथं च महाराज निगण्ठो चातुयामसंवरसंवुत्तो होति ? इध महाराज निगण्ठो सव्ववारिवारितो च होति, सब्बवारियुत्तो च सब्बवारिधुतो च होति, सव्ववारिफुरो च। एवं खो महाराज निगण्ठो एवं चातुयामसंवरसंवुतो होति अयं वुच्चति महाराज निगण्ठो गतत्तो च यतत्तो च ठितत्तो चाति।"

इस उल्लेख में जो 'सव्ववारिवारितो' इत्यादि पाठ है उससे क्या अभिप्रेत है, इसीकी विशेष चर्चा यहाँ करनी है। टीकाकार बुद्धघोष का आश्रय लेकर सर्वप्रथम डा० याकोबी ने इसका अनुवाद करने का प्रयत्न किया है। उन्होने 'सव्ववारिवारितो' गत 'वारि' शब्द का अर्थ पानी समझा है और तात्पर्य निकाला कि—Nigantha abstains from all (Cold) water. किन्तु 'सव्ववारियुत्तो' आदि पदों में जो 'वारि' शब्द आता है उसका अर्थ निषिद्ध या निषेधयोग्य समझा है। अतएव अर्थ किया कि—

he abstains from all bad deeds, by abstinance from all bad deeds he is free from sins, he realises abstinance from all bad deeds, (S.B.E.vol. XLV, Intro. p. XX). उसके बाद इस उल्लेख के जितने भी अनु-

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1 Canon Bouddhique, Pali; Suttapiṭaka Dīghanikāya, tome I, p. 51.

वाद हुए, उन सब में प्रथम 'वारि' शब्द का सर्वत्र 'पानी' अर्थ ही दिखाई देता है– (R. Davids: S, B. B. II, p 74; श्री कश्यप कृत हिन्दी पृ० २१; डा० नगराज अनुशीलन, पृ० ४५४ इत्यादि) । अपवाह केवल फ्रेन्च भाषा में जो डा० रेनू ने अनुवाद किया (1949) उसमें दिखाई देता है । उन्होंने 'वारि' शब्द का 'वारणयोग्य' ऐसा स्पष्ट अर्थ किया है । अतएव सर्वत्र 'वारि' शब्द का एक अर्थ उन्होंने किया है । आश्चर्य है कि इस उल्लेख में पालिकोष भी 'वारि' शब्द का अर्थ 'पानी' ही देता है ।

डा० याकोबी को भी 'पानी' अर्थ करने में असंगति तो दिखती ही थी । अतएव उन्होने कोष्टक में (Cold) जोड़ दिया, क्योंकि यह तो संभव हो ही नहीं सकता है कि कोई भी सब प्रकार के 'जल' का त्याग कर सके । जैन निर्ग्रन्थों ने केवल ठंडे जल का ही त्याग किया था, अतएव याकोबी को भी जोड़ना पड़ा । किन्तु वहाँ 'वारि' शब्द का अर्थ 'पानी' है भी नहीं, यह तो उनके भी ध्यान में नहीं आया । वे केवल बुद्धघोषका ही अनुसरण करके रह गये ।

वस्तुत: यहाँ 'वारि' शब्द का अर्थ 'वारणयोग्य' अर्थात् निषिद्ध=पाप ही है। इस बात का समर्थन जैन आगम सूत्रकृतांग से हो जाता है । जिन शब्दों का प्रयोग पालि में हैं उन्हीं शब्दों का प्रयोग हेर फेर से सूत्रकृतांग में भी देखा जाता है । आश्चर्य इस बात का अवश्य है कि जो प्रयोग पालि में लिया गया, वह उस काल में जैनों में विशिष्ट होगा; किन्तु प्राचीन आगमों में केवल एक ही वार यह देखा जाता है और वह भी भगवान् महावीर जी की स्तुति के प्रसंग में । संभव है कि आगे चलकर जब भगवान् महावीर के पांच महाव्रत की प्रसिद्धि विशेष हुई तब यह प्रयोग गौण हो गया, उसने अपना महत्व खो दिया; अतएव केवल एक ही बार यह प्रयोग जैनागम में देखा जाता है ।

सूत्रकृतांग में महावीर की स्तुति में कहा गया है—

से वारिया इत्थि सराइभन्तं उपहाणवं दुक्खखयट्ठयाए । लोगं विदित्ता आरं परंच सव्वं पभू वारियसव्ववारी ॥

६. २ ७ (P. T. S.)

पालिपिटक में भगवान् महावीर निगंठ नातपुत्त के विषय में कहा गया है 'सव्ववारिवारितो' और यहाँ महावीर के वर्णन में कहा गया है—

'पभू वारियसव्ववारी'*—दोनों का तात्पर्यार्थ ही नहीं; शब्द भी एक हैं। अब इस सूत्रकृतांग की टीकाओं में इसका जो अर्थ किया गया है उसे देखें, जिससे स्पष्ट हो जायगा कि यहाँ 'वारि' शब्द का अर्थ 'पानी' है ही नहीं।

"सव्वं पभू वारिय प्रभवतीति प्रभुः। वशयित्वा इत्यर्थः। अथवा सव्वं पाणादिवादानि दव्वतो, प्रभुः ज्ञेयं प्रति, प्रधानत्वाच्च वारितवान् शिष्यान् हिंसा-अनृत -स्तेय-परिग्रहेभ्य इति, मैथुन-रात्रिभक्ते तु पूर्वोक्ते। सर्वस्मादकृत्यादात्मानं शिष्यांश्च वारितवान् इति सर्ववारी सर्ववारणशील इत्यर्थः।" चूर्णि।

"सर्वमेतत् प्रभुः भगवान् सर्ववारं बहुशो निवारितवान्। एतदुक्तं भवति प्राणातिपातनिषेधादिकं स्वतोऽनुष्ठाय परांश्च स्थापितवान्, नहि स्वतोऽस्थितः परांश्च स्थापयितुमलमित्यर्थः।" शीलाङ्ककृत टीका।

दोनों टीकाओं में भी समाधानकारक रीति से शब्दार्थ नहीं किया गया किन्तु तात्पर्यार्थ स्पष्ट ही हैं। शीलाङ्क का तो पाठ ही 'वार' है 'वारि' नहीं है।

यहाँ यह भी स्पष्ट करना जरूरी है कि भगवान् महावीर ने दीक्षा लेते समय जो प्रतिज्ञा की थी उससे भी स्पष्ट होता है कि उन्होंने सर्व पापों का वारण किया था– "तओ णं समणे जाव लोयं करित्ता सिद्धाणं नमुक्कारं करेइ, सव्वं मे अकरणिज्जं पावकम्मं ति कट्टु सामाइयं चरितं पडिवज्जई"

आचारांग, द्वितीयश्रु० सू० १७९, पृ०, ४२४

यह सब देखते हुए 'वारि' शब्द का अर्थ 'वारणयोग्य' = पाप का ही होना उचित है न कि वारि = पानी।

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* यहाँ जो पाठ दिया है वह प्राकृत टेक्स्ट सोसायटी द्वारा सूत्रकृतांगचुर्णि जो छप रहा है उसीसे लिया गया है अन्य पाठान्तर इस प्रकार हैं—'पभू वारिय सव्ववारं' आगमोदयआवृत्ति और डा० वैद्यकी आवृत्ति।

MAGIC IN THE VEDAS

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The term 'magic' (Greek *mageia*, Latin *magia*) is derived from *Magi*—the priestly class in Babylonia and Assyria, who, in course of time, degenerated into soothsayers and magicians. By the use of spells and rites and observing certain conditions, the performer of magic mechanically obtains his desired ends by his own coercive power. According to Frazer (*Golden Bough*, abr. ed. 1923, p.11 f.) magic works on two principles : the Law of Similarity and the Law of Contiguity. One can produce any effect one desires merely by imitating it and whatever one does to a material object will effect equally the person with whom the object was once in contact whether it formed a part of his body or not. The desired effect though enacted on the symbol is transmitted to the real object. Things act on each other through a secret sympathy. In this way, one's broken tooth, cuttings of nails, hairs, blood, sweat, foot-prints, clothes, weapon etc. represent the very person to whom these things belong. These two types of magic are called Homoeopathic and Contagious. In contradistinction to magic, religion is to Frazer, "a propitiation or conciliation of powers superior to man which are believed to direct and control the course of nature and of human being" (ibid., p. 50).

In Vedas, the words *Yātu* (*AV*. 2. 24), *mūlakriyā* (*RV*. 10. 145 ; *AV*. 1.34 ; 6.138), *kṛtyā* (*AV*. 5.14,31; 10.1), *Valaga* (*AV*. 10. 1. 18 ; *Vāj.S*. 5.23 ; *TS*. 1.3.2), *pratyabhicaraṇa* (*RV*. 2.11.2), *pratiharaṇa* (*AV*. 5.14.8), *pratisara*

and *prativarta* (*AV*. 8.5.1.4), *pratyak* and *pratīcīna* (*AV*. 10.1.6), *Cakṣurmantrasya* and *Cakṣuṣo ghorāḥ* (evil-eye *AV*. 2.7.5; 4.9.6), and *dūṣiḥ* (*AV*.1.23.4; 2.11.1) refer to magic and the words *yātudhāna* as well as *Yātu*, *kimīdin*, *kṛtyākṛt*, *Valagin*, *mūlin*, *śaptāra*, *śapatheyya* (*RV*. 1.35. 10; VII. 104. 15; *AV*. 1.28; 5.31.12 etc.) refer to magicians. In the Veda, the term *māyā* denoting mysterious power (*RV*. 1.160.3) occurs in both the senses—good and bad as applicable to gods and the asuras. Varuṇa is called *māyin* (*RV*. 6.48.14; 7.28.4; 10.99.10, 147.5). Indra is said as appearing in different forms by his mysterious power (*RV*. 3.53.8; 6,47.18). In *ŚB* 13.4.3.11 the word means *Indrajāla* or *asuravidyā*. In *RV*. 3.53, there is a reference to the throwing of a mūṭha over the enemy. Śakti—the son of Vasiṣṭha—uses magic against his rival Viśvāmitra and deprives him of his Vāk. Later, by the power of *Sasarparī* mantra Viśvāmitra regains his speech and curses his enemies. The Vedic people were very much afraid of the abhicāra or black magic and condemned it (*RV*. VII. 104. 15).

The *Atharvaveda* is said to be the repository of magical incantations, but in the other three Vedas, which are concerned with Śrauta sacrifices, the Ātharvaṇaic concepts of *śānti*, *puṣṭi* and *abhicāra* rites are not lacking. While dealing with Śrauta yāgas, the priests indulge in magical practices, which in nature and quality do not essentially differ from the Ātharvaṇaic concept of magic. It makes clear that the tradition of the *AV*. did not come out from a quite distinct stratum of the society.

The magic of the Vedas covers all possible spheres of desires such as attainment of property, offspring, husband, wife, cattle, long life, health, safe delivery,

superiority, victory, rain, averting of diseases, evil consequences of sins, ill-omens, serpents, poison and smitting away of the enemies, sorcerers and rival wives etc. In all the rites, it is possible to discern the working of the Law of Similarity and Contiguity. The desired result is brought about by imitating the end to be achieved. To gain the love of one's beloved, the heart of the beloved's image is pierced by an arrow (*AV.* 3.25; *SVdh. Br.* 2.5.3). Evil influences (*RV.*10.59–Nirṛti; *śB* 1.2.4.7—wooden sword; *śB* 7.2.1.12 -Nirṛti bricks) and diseases (*RV.* 1.50—Jaundice) are warded off and transferred to other distant places and beneficial substances, or powers are attracted by means of contact (skin of ajā for prosperity and progeny; tiger-skin for power). A crowd of priests conducts the complicated ritual, of which every detail is full of symbolic meaning, to serve the purpose of the sacrificer. Thus, at the sacrifice of *Darśapūrṇamāsa,* for the offering of a milk mess, a twig of Palāśa is cut to drive away the calves from the cows. This twig of a special tree serves the purpose other than the driving away of the calves, that is, the placing of food and strength in the sacrificer (*TS.* 1.1.1. इषे त्वोर्जे त्वा). If the adhvaryu wishes to make the sacrificer deprived of his cattle, he brings a branch without leaves and having its foremost part dry (*TS.* 3.2.1.2). By the *Stambayajurharaṇa* rite, the enemy and the rakṣasas are driven away (*TB.* 3.2.9.1-6). Vaṣaṭ with a harsh speech *khaṭ*, *phaṭ* etc. (*Tai. Ar.* 4.27) were used to slay the enemies (*Tai. Br.* 2.2.1.7). At the ceremony of the erection of the *sadas*, the Adhvaryu, by drawing a line around with the spade encompasses and cuts the rakṣasas and the enemies (*TS.* 1.3.1). The heating of the winnowing basket and the ladle symbolizes the burning of the rakṣasas (*TS.* 1.1.2).

The digging of the earth symbolizes the casting out of the spell (*TS.* 1.3.2). In the sacrifice everything e.g. mantras, order of words, stomas, metres, number of syllables, tone of recitation, representations of things and offerings (to quote *TS.* 2.1.1.1 वायव्यँ श्वेतमालभेत भूतिकामो) etc. are meaningful from the magical point of view.

From the study of the Vedic magic one may contend that it relies upon worship. *Devatās* are prayed to and offerings are made unto them, but these magical prayers exert power even over the gods and can bring directly the desired things without the intervention of the *davatās*. Again, the Ātharvaṇaic magic was as a way of life to the Vedic people and was used in daily life to obtain material happiness. These practices constituted the religion of the common man.

SKT. VIŚIPRIYA-

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This vocable appears in a *mantra* which is used while drawing one of the five *grahas* which are prescribed specially for the Vājapeya sacrifice. Its meaning given by BR is : "*etwa ohne Backenstücke* d. h. *ohne Handhaben an den Seiten,* von Soma-Gefässen". Böhtlingk probably was not sure of this meaning and hence in his shorter dictionary he did not give it. There he simply says that the word has been variously interpreted by the commentators. Monier Williams only repeats this latter statement.

The mantra in question appears as follows in the Taittirīya Saṁhitā 1.7.12.1-2:

yé gráhāḥ pañcajanīnā yéṣāṁ tisráḥ paramojāḥ/daívyaḥ kóśaḥ/

sámubjitaḥ/tiṣāṁ veśipriyāṇām īṣam ūrjaṁ samagrabhīm eṣá te yónir índrāya tvā/ . . . (2)

Keith translates the above as :

"The cups of the five folk,

Of which three are of highest birth,

(And for which) the divine cask (1) has been forced out

Of these that have no handles

The food and strength have I seized;

This is thy birthplace; to Indra thee !"

Keith's foot-note 1 reads as : "*viśipriyāṇām* is apparently 'without *śiprās*', and *śiprā* denotes 'jars' or 'lips', i.e., vessels without mouths or handles, probably."[1]

In the Vājasaneyi-Saṁhitā (9.4), the mantra has the following text : *gráhā ūrjāhutayo vyánto víprāya matím t'ṣāṁ vīśipriyāṇāṁ vo 'hám íṣam ūrjaṁ sámagrabham*/ This *mantra*, when it appears in the Śat. Br. (5.1.2.8),[2] has been translated by Eggeling as follows : "Ye cups, of strengthening libations, inspiring the sage with thought, I have gathered together the pith and sap of you, the handleless !"

Eggeling and Keith who interpret *viśipriya* to mean 'handleless' have obviously followed the lead given by BR in analysing the word as *vī-śipriya.* This analysis was already suggested by the Padapāṭha of the Taitt. Saṁ. Following it Sāyaṇa renders the word while commenting on the Taitt. Saṁṃ. as 'furnished with different kinds of rims'. He interprets *śipra* (neut.) as 'jaw' and thinks that with reference to the cups it is metaphorically used in the sense of 'rims'. Read : *vividhāni śiprāṇi hanusthānīyāni pātrāgrāṇi tair upetā viśipriyāḥ.* While commenting on the Śat. Br., Sāyaṇa refers to the Nirukta view (6.17) according to which *śīpre* (fem. dual) means 'jaws' (*hanū*) or 'nostrils' (*nāsike*), and says that in the word *vīśipriya* it means 'jaw'. His interpretation of the word is the same as above except that instead of '*tair upetam* he says here '*tatparyantam*'[3] i.e, 'filled upto the

1. One, however, does not understand how this meaning can be reached if *śiprā* means 'jars'. The Taitt. Br. 1.3.9.2 has no comment on this word.

2. The Śat. Br. also has no comment on it.

3. Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara also has the same interpretation ; *viśipriyāṇāṁ vividhahanuparyantānām.*

rims'.[4] But this is not all. He also gives an alternative interpretation which, since it is given first, he seems to prefer. According to this interpretation, *śipriya* means 'chewing', the action done by the jaws (śiprā). Since the Soma stalks are well pressed, the juice extracted from them is fine and needs no chewing at all while drinking. Hence the cups, i.e,, the Soma juices contained in them, are called *viśipriya* "containing well pressed Soma". Read : *"śipre hanū nāsikc vā" iti hi yāskavacanam| iha hi hanū gṛhyete| tatra bhavaṁ karma śipriyam| vigataṁ śipriyaṁ yeṣāṁ te| atra hanuvyāpārābhāvāt śobhanābhiṣavasaṁskṛtā ity arthaḥ*[5] |

Another way of explaining the word would be to analyse it differently as *vīśi-priya* 'loved, liked among the people'. This, as an attribute of the Soma cups, suits the context very well since these cups are also called *pañcajanīna* 'belonging to the five people' in the Taitt. Saṁ. and *viṣvajanīna* 'belonging to all the people' in the Maitr. Saṁ. (1.11.4) and the Kāṭh. Saṁ. (14.3). The *mantra* is used, as mentioned above, while drawing the Soma cup of the Vājapeya, a sacrifice which is characterized by certain features like the chariot race which must have been very popular among the people. Hence it is quite understandable that a Soma cup of the Vājapeya was called *víśi-priya* 'liked among the people'.

If *víśipriya* is analysed as *vīśi-priya*, the loc. sg. form of the first member of the compound is quite under-

4. There is also another minor difference. While commenting on the Taitt. Saṁ., he equates *śipra* with *pātrāgra;* in the Śat. Br. he equated *śipriya* with *pātrāgra*.

5. The explanation of the commentator Mahīdhara on the Vāj. Saṁ. (9.4) is the same. Read : *śiprayor hanvoḥ karma śipriyam hanucalanam| vigataṁ śipriyaṁ yeṣu graheṣu te viśipriyāḥ samyag abhiṣutāḥ supūtāś ca tatra hi hanvor vyāpāro nāsti supeyatvāt.*

standable. As Wackernagel (Alt. Gr. II, I, § 95c *β*, p. 234) puts it, "Bei solchem Verhältnis der Glieder ist Kasusform des Vordergliedes häufig". The adjective *priya* is again often used with the loc. case.[6] But it is difficult to explain the accent. As a rule, the compound then should have been accented as *viśípriya*. (cf. Wackernagel, op. cit., § 96, p. 238 f.) The shifting of the accent to the first syllable, as seen in the attested form, may be said to have occurred on the analogy of many compounds with prefix *ví* as the first member showing the accent on the first syllable. We have, of course, then to assume that the accent shift had occurred very early even before the Pada analysis of the Taitt. Saṁhitā.

The interpretation of the word *viśipriya* can be attempted also from a different direction. In the corresponding mantras, the Maitr. Saṁ (1.11.4) gives the reading *viśiśna* and the Kāṭhaka (14.3) *viśiśnya*. If the reading *víśiśna* is taken to be the original one, it is possible to understand it as the description of a Soma cup. The handle of a Soma cup, as something projecting from it, can be looked upon as its *śiśna* (organ or tail). *viśiśna* as applied to a Soma cup, can mean 'without a handle'. *śipra* in **vīśipra* may then be looked upon as a euphimistic substitute for *śiśna* in *víśiśna*. **víśiprya* would be a further deviative from **víśipra* as *viśiśnya* of the Kāṭhaka is from *vīśiśna* of the Maitr. This **vīśiprya* could be the basis of the attested *víśipriya*.[7]

If *śipra* can be considered as a euphimism or *śiśna*, then it would also be possible to understand better the

6. cf. *priyo vikṣú* RV 6.1.6: *priyáḥ sū́rye priyo agnā́ bhavāti* RV 5.37.5 etc.

7. On the variation between *–ya* and *–iya* cf. *Alt. Gr.* II.2 § 228 b p. 359.

name of the demon (dāsa) Vṛṣa-śiprá (RV. 7.99.4). This has been rendered differently as 'die Lippen eines Stieres habend' (Grassmann), 'Bullengebiss' (Geldner), and 'bullcheeked' (MW). To name a demon as having the lips or cheeks of a bull does not seem to be very appropriate as these limbs are not known to be specially characteristic of a bull. Geldner's attempt to give it a better look by rendering *śipra* as 'Gebiss' (sets of teeth) does not help much. On the other hand, if *śipra* in this name is looked upon as standing for *śiśna*, then Vṛṣa-śipra 'having the organ of a bull' can give good meaning. A reference to *śiśna* while characterizing a bull is found in the *Mbh.* 14.10.29. In a certain context where some bulls are prescribed for different deities, a black bull with a moving organ is prescribed for Indra.[8]

At this stage it may be considered if the word *śipra* itself cannot have the meaning 'organ' besides the other meanings attributed to it.[9] In that case *śipra* can be related to *śépa* and also, perhaps, *śipi* in *śipiviṣṭá* (a name of Viṣṇu). They may be derived from a common root **śip* 'to project'.[10] In RV 5.45.6 appears another name of a demon Viśiśiprá. No attempt has been made to render the word in the lexicons. It is analysed as Viśi-

8. *nīlam cokṣāṇaṁ medhyam abhyālabhantāṁ calacchiśnaṁ matpradiṣṭaṁ dvijendrāḥ.*

9. Geldner on RV 1.101.10 has a note on *śipra.* According to him it means some part of the face or mouth and specially the one which comes into operation while drinking Soma. He mentions for consideration 'nostrils' (already given by Yāska (6.17) and referred to above), 'opened lips' and 'sets of teeth' .

10. In *Alt. Gr.* II 2 § 687, p. 858 the meaning assigned to the reconstructed root *śip* is 'to wag'.

śipra in the Padapāṭha, but it does not make it intelligible. Hence when Sāyaṇa renders it as *vigatahanu* he seems to favour the analysis *vi-śiśipra*. If, as suggested above, it is possible to isolate the root **śip* then one may agree with Sāyaṇa in his analysis of the word and derive **śiśipra* from the reduplicated root **śip*. But instead of assigning the meaning *hanu* to **śiśipra*, it would be better to consider it either as a substitute for *śiśna* or connect it with *śepa* and give it the meaning 'organ'. Vi-śiśiprā then would mean 'one having a distinct (*vi*) organ' and, as a name of a demon, it could be compared with the other name of the demon Vṛṣaśipra noticed above.

SANSKRIT ĀMNĀYA

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The Sanskrit word *āmnāya*-is used to translate Pahlavi *patvand* in *Mēnōk ī Xrat* (*MX.*) 26.7 (ed. T. D. Anklesaria), and in *Shkand Gumānīk Vichār* (*SGV.*) 10.69 (ed. Hoshang Jamasp). The Pahlavi word *patvand*, Pazand *paēvand* generally means 'connection, lineage, succession'. Professor Sir Harold Bailey (*Zoroastrian Problems in the Ninth-Century Books*, by H. W. Bailey, Oxford 1943, p. 149) translates Pahlavi *patvand* : 'tradition', and Sanskrit translation *āmnāya* : 'tradition preserved by memory'. Although the Pahlavi and the Sanskrit words are used in this sense, as noted by Bailey, it appears that this meaning is not suitable in the context which in either case demands a different meaning of the word.

MX. 26 is an inquiry about happiness allotted to men from the first man Gayomart downwards, and to the kings and rulers from Hoshang of the Pishdadian dynasty up to King Vishtasp of the Kayanian dynasty, many of them being thankful to God therefor, and an inquiry about some others being ungrateful and sinful. In reply it is stated (*MX.* 26.6-7) :

"During the different periods, as it is destined for every person, whatever ought to happen, happens ; since it is evident even from the successors (*hampatvand*) of those ancients, who have passed away, that in the end this happens : which ought to come from them to the creatures of Ohrmazd has come."

Then the text describes 'the benefit, advantage, usefulness' (Pahlavi *sūt*, Sanskrit tranalation *lābha-*) that came from Gayomart and his descendants and successors, Hōshang, Taxmurup, Yimshēt, Azh-ì-Dahāk, Frāsyāk, Frētōn, Manushchihr, Kaykavāt, Sām, Kayōs, Syāvash, Kaykhusro, Kay Lohrasp, and Kay Vishtāsp (*MX.* 26.8-28).

These names evidently represent Pahlavi *hampatvand*, Sanskrit translation *samasta āmnāya* occurring in *MX.* 26.7 ; and the Pahlavi word and its Sanskrit translation evidently refer to the descendants and successors of Gayomart. Hence both the words must mean the same, namely 'descendant, successor'.

The same Pahlavi word in its Pazand form *paēvand* with Sanskrit translation *āmnāya-* occurs in *SGV.* 10.69, and here also it is used in the same sense of 'descendant, successor'. *SGV.* 10.67-70 :

"And Kay *Spandyāt (written *spudākht*) and *Zarēr (Written *zargar*) and other countrymen accepted also many battles, commotions, and bloodsheds for the sake of this Religion. They travelled up to Rum and India (and) other countries for propagation of the Religion. Forth from them in succession (Pazand *paēvand*) it (i. e. the Religion) came to the (Sasanian) kings, rulers of the royal family, exalted ones, even up to (the confirmation by) the ordeal by pouring molten metal on the breast, which (ordeal) Saintly Adarbad son of Maraspand (underwent) during the sovereignty of His Majesty Emperor Shahpur (son) of Hormazd, in controvresy with many kinds (and) various kinds of heretics".

In this passage also Pazand *paēvand* and its Sanskrit translation *āmnāya* should mean 'descendant, lineage,

family, succession', rather than 'tradition, oral tradition'.

It is significant that elsewhere Pahlavi *patvand* is translated into Sanskrit by *vamśa* वंश (*MX.* 20.15,16; 34.3; 38.34). Further, in Yasna 65.7 Avesta *nāfō* 'family, lineage' is translated into Pahlavi by *nāf*, and explained in a gloss : *patvand*.

It is interesting to note further that in the ancient Sanskrit lexicons Sanskrit *āmnāya* occurs with this meaning ; *kula* 'family', *kulakrama* 'series of families'. See *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch* by Böthlingk und Roth, Vol. I, St. Petersburg 1852-1855, columns 672-673 :

"āmnāya 'die heilige Ueberlieferung, ein heiliger Text...Die Lexicographen : कुल Geschlect, कुलक्रम Aufeinanderfolge der Geschlechter (oder Ueberlieferung aus einem Geschlecht ins andere".

Similarly, Apte, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 223; and Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 147 :

"āmnāya 'sacred tradition, sacred texts handed down by repetition; that which is remembered or studied or learnt by heart - - - a family, series of families L."

["L. : lexicographers (i. e. a word or meaning which although given in native lexicons, has not yet been met with in any published text.)"]

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ŚRĪ HASTĀMALAKACĀRYA

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SHRI HASATĀMALAKA was one among those four devoted disciples of Sri Śaṅkarācārya, who have been considered as the Master Architects of Advaita Philosophy, and revered as the great souls for past eleven centuries. It is recorded in the *Saṁnyāsotpatti*, that Pṛthvīdharācārya was his another name and he was the first Ācarya of the fourth Maṭha i. e. Śringeri in the south.[1] *Hastāmalaka-stotra* is the only work ascribed to him. This is a small metrical work consisting of only 12 verses. The verses are so pregnant with metaphysical meaning and spiritual experience that, according to one tradition, Śrī Śaṅkara himself wrote a commentary on them.[2] Besides Śaṅkara's commentary, there are also two other commentaries on this *stotra*, one by Ānandaprakāśabhaṭṭāraka,[3] and the other by Svayamprakāśa Muni.[4] Ānandaprakāśa has also referred to some other unidentified commentator on the *Hastāmalakastotra* in his Hastāmalaka-ṭīkā-[5] Even a

1. *Sannyāsotpatti*, pp. 2 and 4 (The manuscript in my possession is one among 500 Sankrit manuscripts preserved in my family)

2. Cf. pp. 163 ff. Vol. XVI of the Works of Śri Śaṅkarācārya, Śrī Viṇī Vilās Edition.

3. *Hastāmalaka-ṭīkā*. Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, Manuscript No. R. 5187.)

4. *Hastāmalaka-śloka-vyākhyā* (Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, Ms. No. R 3324 (f))

5. Cf. pp. 4 and 10 of the *Hastāmalakaṭīkā*.

cursory glance at the *Hastāmalakastotra* and the commentaries thereon would show that it represents not only the quintessence of Hastāmalaka's immediate experience, but also set forth some of the fundamentals of Advaitic thought. The verses constituting the *Hastāmalakastotra* are also famous as *Hastāmalaka*, because they express as clearly the *Paramātma-tattva* (Absolute Principle) as if an *āmalaka* (myrobalan) on the palm of the hand.[6] Before we analyse these verses in the order given in the *Hastāmalakaṭīkā* of Ānandaprakāśa Bhaṭṭāraka, it is necessary to give in brief the few events associated with the life of Hastāmalaka as referred to in the *Śaṅkarvijayas* of Vyāsācala[7] and Ānandagiri,[8] *Śaṅkaradigvijaya* of Mādhavācarya[9] and the introduction of Ānandaprakāsa's gloss on the *Hastāmalakastotra*.[10]

Once the eminent sage, Śrī Śaṅkara, accompanied by his disciples reached Srī Bali, a village near Gokarṇa and inhabited by three thousand Brāhmaṇas. An affluent *Brāhamaṇa*, namely Prabhākara, together with his sick son, who was thirteen years old, approached Śaṅkara in the hope of getting him cured. The father bowed down at the feet of Śrī Śaṅkara and made his

6. *Prakāśayante paramātmatattvam karasthadhātrīphalavad yadekam. ślokāstu hastāmalakāḥ prasiddhāstatkarturākhyāpi tathaiva vṛthā. (Vyāsācala: Śāṅkaravijaya :* 12.24. (Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras Edition, p. 195).

7. Ibid. pp. 191 ff).

8. *Śaṅkaravijaya of* Ānandagiri, pp. 250 and 267.

9. *Śaṅkaradigvijaya* of Mādhavācarya, 12, 47-53.

10. Cf. *Hastāmalaka-ṭikā,* p. 2. Lakṣmīnṛsiṁha has also mentioned Hastāmalaka in his *Viśvadeśika-kāvya :* cf S. Nārāyaṇsvāmī Śāstrī's Introductory page iv on Nṛsimhāśrama's *Vedānta-tattva-viveka,* Mysore Edn., 1955 A. D.

son to do the same. The latter like 'the fire hidden in the ashes' did not get up and remained prostrated before the lotus-feet of Śaṅkara. When the sage lifted up the boy, the father asked, "O Lord ! Let me know what is the cause of his inactivity (*jaḍavattā*). Thirteen years had so far passed without his *avabodha* (knowledge). He did not learn the Vedas. Somehow the investiture with the sacred thread had been performed. The playmates would abuse him but he would not come forward for playing. Even the physical harm inflicted on him would not evoke any kind of anger.[11] Sometimes he would take his meals, while at other times he would not do so. He acted always according to his own will, and did not abide by others' instructions. And thus he was growing up with his own *karman*."

Having thus listened to the words of that *Brāhmaṇa*, the supreme teacher, Śaṅkara, asked the boy "Who are you ? How do you behave as the possessed one ?" In reply to these questions, that great soul (*mahātmā*), dwelling in the body of that boy spoke twelve verses, which, as we have stated above, are known as the *Hastāmalaka* or *Hastāmalaka-stotra*. These verses deal with the nature of the *Ātman* and maintain the identity of the individual self with the supreme soul. 'I am that Self, which is eternally conscious (*Sa nityopalabdha-svarūpohamātmā*), is the refrain of the first eleven verses. The author pours forth his immediate experience of the Self in these verses, and explains in terms of similies and metaphors how the world of duality derives its existence and vitality from the non-dual Self.

11. *Krīḍāparaḥ krośati bālavargaḥ tathāpi na krīḍitumeṣa dhāvati. bālam haṭhān mugdhamimam nirīkṣya, santāḍayanto' pi na roṣameti* (Vyāsācala : *Śaṅkaravijaya*, 12.19).

It is said in the first verse itself that the *Ātman*, which is devoid of all conditions (*nirastākhilopādhi*) like ether, is the source of the activities of the mind and sense-organs, just as the sun is the real cause of the activities of all human beings.[12] By the analogy of the sun, the author seeks to explain that as the sun is the casual factor of the activities of human beings merely through the presence of its proximity, the non-dual Self is also so in the case of the activities of the mind and sense-organs, simply because of its existent proximity.[13]

The second verse[14] points out that the mind, sense-organs and worldly objects are inert and hence they owe their respective functions to and depend on that one and immoveable Self, which is of the nature of the eternal consciousness. The Self is essentially different from the mind and sense-organs, and source of the latters' existence and manifestation. It is therefore said in the next verse[15] that Self is the mind of the mind and the eye of the eye. The existence of the mind, sense-organs and wordly objects cannot be different from the Self, in as much as they are superimposed on the latter. It is

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12. *nimittam manaścakṣurādipravṛttau nirastākhilopādhirākāśakalpaḥ. ravirlokaceṣṭānimittam yathā yaḥ sa nityopalabdhissvarūpo hamātmā.* (Hastāmalaka, v. l.)

13. *yathā khalu savitā svasannidhisattāmātreṇa sakala-prāṇipravṛtti-hetuḥ tadādayamapi svasnnidhi sattāmātreṇa sakalamanścakṣurādi-pravṛt-tihetuḥ (Hastāmalaka-tīkā* on v. l. p. 5.)

14. *(Hastāmalaka,* v. 2.)

15. *manascakṣurāderviyuktaḥ svayaṃ yo manascakṣurā-dermanascak-ṣurādiḥ.* (ibid, v. 3).

an established fact that the superimposed objects have no separate existence and manifestation apart from the substratum. The self is transcendent and therefore it cannot be known through the empirical mind or any other means of empirical knowledge.[16]

The *jīva* or individual soul is the appearance of the Self in the mind, and it is not different from the Self, as the appearance of the face seen in the mirror is not different from the face on the neck. The Self permeating in the different minds is the one and the same and there is thus an underlying identity among all individuals.[17] The appearing distinction of the prototype (*biṁba*) and the reflection (*pratibiṁba*) between the *jīva* and the *Ātman* remains only till the existence of the mind. The soul attains its non-dual and ever conscious nature immediately after the fire of knowledge burns the mind, just as the real oneness of the face is restored on the removal of mirror.[18]

It has been said above that there is only one Self among all bodies. But it may be objected that when there is an empirically known difference among the individuals in the form of 'I' and 'You', how can be oneness of the Self? In reply to this objection, our author says that the Self which is self-established consciousness (*svataḥ-siddha-cetāḥ*) and luminous (*prakāśa-Svarūpa*) is, in fact, one, but appears to be many due to different minds, just like one and the same sun seems to have splintered

16. *manaścakṣurāderagmyasvarūpaḥ......*(ibid) cf. *yato vāco nivartante aprāpya manasā saha* (Tai. u. 2. u. 1.)

17. *mukhābhāsako darpaṇe dṛśyamāno mukhatvātpṛthaktvena naivāsti vastu. cidābhāsako dhīṣu jīvo'pi tadvat.........*(*Hastāmalaka*, v. 4.)

18. *yathā darpaṇābhāva ābhāsahānau mukham vidyate kalpanāhīnamekam. tathā dhīviyoge nirābhāsako yaḥ.* (ibid v. 5.)

up into multiple forms because of the different platers full of water.[19]

When it is observed that the one very Self is among all bodies, why the Scriptures declare the Self to be the enjoyer of the fruits of this and other worlds? This is illustrated again on the analogy of the sun. As the sun seems to be following both the moving and unmoving conditions of water, so also appears the non-duel Self to be the follower of the modifications of various minds.[20] It is the mind that undergoes changes, but because of the false identification of the Self with the mind, the modifications of the letter are wrongly ascribed to the former.[21]

Just as a single sun, which is the light of all eyes, illumines all objects without any sequence, so does the non-dual *Ātman* simultaneously illuminate the multitude of minds, and enables them to cognise the world of duality.[22] The self is not only the mind of the mind etc. but also the main stream of all lights. The sun illumines the sense-organs and makes them fit to perceive the objects, but this sun, too, cannot do so unless it is illumined by the *Ātman*.[23] In other words,

19. *ya eko vibhāti svatassiddhacetāḥ prakāśasvarūpo'pi nānaiva dhīṣu. Sarāvodakastho yathā bhānurekaḥ saḥ*..............ibid v. 6.) cf. *'eko devaḥ sarvabhūteṣu guḍhaḥ' (Śvetāśvatara Up.* 6. 11) *'kṣetrajñam cāpi mām viddhi sarvakṣetreṣu bhārata! (Gītā* B. 2.) and *(avibhaktam ca bhūteṣu vibhaktamiva sthitam.'* (ibid 13. 15.)

20. *yathā sūrya eko'pyanekaścalāsu sthirāsvapyananvagvi-bhāvyasvarūpaḥ. Calāsu prabhinnāsu dhīṣveka evam* (*Hastāmalaka,* v. 7.)

21. *'dhyāyatīva lelāyatīva'* (*Br. Up.* U. 3. 7.).

22. *yathānekacakṣuprakāśo ravirn krameṇa prakāśī karoti prakāśyam. anekā dhiyo yastathaikaprabodhaḥ* (*Hastāmalaka* v. 8.)

23. *vivasvatprabhātam yathā rupamakṣam pragṛhṇāti nābhātmekam vivasvān. yathābhātamābhāsayatyakṣamekam* (ibid V. 9.).

the sun also owes its capacity of rendering wordly things manifest to the Self, which according to the Scriptures, is the light of all lights.[24] The *Gītā* also proclaims that the Self alone is the light of the sun, moon and fire.[25]

The nature of the relation between the Self and the objects is explained in the tenth verse. Though the Self with its existence and consciousness is present among all objects, the objects are not related to it, just as the other pervades worldly things without any relation.[26] That the Self is ever pure and unrelated to the mass of universal objects is also declared by the Scriptures.[27]

Why does the Self feel pleasure and pain, undergo bondage and transmigrate from the one to another body, if it is unconditioned and unrelated? In answer to this question, Hastamalaka introduces the *ajñāna* (nescience) and says, as the ignorant one thinks of the sun without light when it is covered with the cluster of clouds, so also appears the Self in bondage to those, whose vision is overpowered by ignorance.[28] In other words, the *Ātman* is always free from bondage, but because of the *āvidyā* or ignorance, which has veiled its true nature,

24. *(tameva bhāntamanubhāti sarvam' (Kaṭha. Up.* 5.15) *(tasya bhāsā sarvamidam vibhāti (ibid) (tadeva jyotiṣām jyotiḥ' (Muṇḍaka Up.* 2. 2. 10.) *and 'yena sūryastapati tejaseddhaḥ'*

25. *yadādityagatam tejo jagadbhāsayete 'khilam. yaccandramasi yaccāgnau tattejo viddhi māmakam (Gtīā* 15. 12*)* and *'jyotiṣāmapi tajjyotiḥ tamasaḥ paramucyate'.*

26. *samasteṣu vastuṣvanusyutamekam samastāni vastūni yanna spṛsanti. viyadvat sudā śuddhamacchasvarūpaḥ' (Hastāmalaka* V. 10).

27. *'asaṇgo na hi sajyet' (Bṛ. Up.* 3. 9. 2*)* and *asaṇgo hyayam puruṣaḥ'* ibid 4. 3. 15.)

28. *' ghanacchannadṛṣṭirghanacchannamarkam yathā niṣprabham manyate cātimūḍhaḥ. tathā baddhavadbhāti yo mūḍhadṛṣṭeḥ (Hastāmalaka,* V. 11.).

and projected out and superimposed on it the characteristics of the mind i.e. *kartṛtva* (doership), *bhoktṛtva* (enjoyership) and *pramātṛtva* (knowership), it seems to be in bondage.[29]

The concluding verse reasserts the non-dual character of the *Ātman* and makes it clear that the plurality and inconstancy can be only figuratively applicable to the *Ātman*, because these, in fact, are the attributes of the limiting adjuncts and media of appearance.[30]

It is quite evident from these verses that their author was not an ordinary human being, but a sage who had realised the true nature of the Self because of the *sravaṇa*, *manana* and *nididhyāsana* practised in the previous births. He was a *jīvanmukta* like Vāmadeva, and inhabiting the body of the boy in order to exhaust the stored impressions of the past actions (*prārabdhakarmas*).[31] He had crossed the ocean of births and deaths, and was here to help others attain their immortal status. The wordly objects were unable to please or displease him, because he was aware of their illusory character.

Ānadaprakāśa Bhaṭṭāraka has raised some important questions in his commentary on the above verses. A brief reference to a few of them would show how these verses solve some of the complicated problems pertaining to the Advaita doctrines.

In the second verse it has been maintained that the mind and sense-organ depend for their activities on the

29. *moghās'a moghakarmāṇo moghajñānavicetasaḥ. rākṣasīmāsurīm caiva prakṛtim mohinīm śritāḥ (Gitā,* 9. 12.)

30. *upādhau yathā bhedatāsanmaṇīnām tathā bhedatā buddhibhedeṣu te'pi. yathā candrikāṇām jale cañcalatvam tathā' pīha viṣṇo (Hastāmalaka,* V. 12.)

31. *C.f* Ānandaprakāsa Bhaṭṭāraka : *Hastāmalakaṭīka,* p. 3.

Self. But the question is ; whether the self has any association with them or not? If the first alternative is accepted, there would be a contingence of *sansaragatva* (relatedness) and *sāvayavatva* (particleness) in the *Ātman.* And in admitting the second alternative of non-association, the Self cannot be held as the inspirer of objects. Thus the statement of the above verse is disputed in both of its alternatives. Ānandaprakāśa commenting on the third verse refutes these objections. He says : As the self, in fact, is unrelated to the said objects the defects, mentioned in the *samyogapakṣa* (the alternative of association) dash to the ground. Turning to the second alternative, he points out that the question of association arises only between the two different things. The minds and other objects are superimposed on the self, just as the snake on the rope, and as the snake has no status apart from the rope, the mind etc. also have no different existence apart from the self. The relation between the self and the objects is thus of identity and how can one assume any kind of relation within a thing itself ? The worldly things depend for their existence and functions on the appearance of the Self. In other words, the Self relates itself and imparts existence and energy to the manifold objects of this universe through its appearance pervading always the latter and hence the defects of non-association do also not arise.[32]

The Self, objects some opponent, can be either different or non-different from the mind and sense-organs.

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32. *manaścakṣurātmanyadhyastattvena tadvyattrekeṇa sattāpratiyorabhāvādadhyastatādātmyasambandhasya bhāvāccidābhāsavyāptimantareṇa manascakṣurādipravṛttyanupapattestatpravartakatvamupapadyate.* (ibid on V. 3, p. 8.)

If it is held different from them, it would become delimited (*paricchinna*), and if it is accepted identical with them, there would be no difference between the Self and the mind etc. Thus the absoluteness (*paramātmatva*) of the *Ātman* is impossible in both cases. This objection, says Ānandaprakāśa, can also be answered with the first two lines of the third verse which are as follows : *manaścakṣurāderviyuktaḥ svayam yo manaścakṣurādermanaḥ cakṣurādiḥ*. Here, Ānandaprakāśa interprets the word *viyukta* as *vyatirikta* (different) and maintains that as the Self is different from the mind etc, the defect pointed out in the case of identity would not arise. The defect of delimitation would also not occur, because the Self is the mind and so on. It means that though the Self is different from them, they are not different from the Self, because they are the display of the ignorance of the Self (*ātmajñānaparikalpita*) and so essentially the Self itself, as the nacre-silver is the silver in essence.[33] The great sage, Vyāsa also says that there is nothing different from the Self, but the latter is different from all.[34]

Commenting on the second verse, Ānandaprakāsa Bhaṭṭāraka has criticised, the views of the Cārvakas, Bauddhas, Mīmāmsakas and Vaiśeṣikas about the nature of the *bodha*(knowlege).[35] The Sāṁkhya view of the plurality of the Self has been refuted in the commentary on the 6th verse.[36] That the consciousness is the very nature of the Self is discussed in detail in the gloss

33. ibid, p. 9.

34. '*Vyatiriktam na yasyāsti vyatirkto' khilasya yaḥ*' (quoted by Ānandaprakāsa in his commentary on V. 3).

35. Cf. pp. 5 ff.

36. Cf. pp. 12-13.

on the second verse.[37] All these require a detailed and independent study which naturally falls beyond the scope of this paper.

While concluding, we may lay stress on this point, that whatever may be the fate of the historical datas describing the life and activities of Hastāmalaka, his work, the *Hastāmalaka-stotra,* itself gives an ample proof that he was a *jīvanmukta* and had come over this earth to lead us to the shore of Immortality, and abode of Eternal Bliss.

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THE OCHRE COLOURED POTTERY, THE COPPER HOARDS AND THE HARAPPANS.

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The ochre coloured pottery has been collected from a good number of sites not only in western Uttar Pradesh but in Haryana, the Panjabi Suba and Rajasthan also. The mysterious Copper-Hoards have provisionally been associated with it. In the following pages an attempt has been made to analyse their position vis-a-vis the Harappan culture in the light of the recent archaeological findings.

I

The ochre coloured pottery, the O. C. P. of the popular usage, with its variants—ochre washed ware or ochre coloured ware—was first recognised by Sri B. B. Lal, the present Director General, Archaeological Survey of India, while excavating at Bisauli and Rajpur-Parsu in Badaun and Bijnor districts respectively as early as 1951 (Lal, 1951). Subsequently, the sherds of this ware were obtained from the lowest-cultural deposit at Hastinapur (Lal, 1954-55). In 1952, Dr. Y. D. Sharma collected this sort of pottery from Bahadarabad near Hardwar (Sharma, 1961). Recent excavations have brought to light this pottery from Atranji Khera in Etah (Ghosh, 1960-61 to 1963-64 and 1965-66 as well), Baragaon (Ghosh, 1963-64) and Ambakheri (Ghosh, 1963-64) in Saharanpur district and Ahichhatra in Bareilly district of Uttar

Pradesh (Ghosh, 1963-64 and 1964-65), Noh in Bharatpur district of Rajasthan (Ghosh, 1963-64, 1964-65) and Katpalaon in Jullundur of the Panjabi Suba (Dikshit, 1968a). A good number of sites pertaining to the O.C.P. have been located so far in the Upper Ganga Valley (in the districts of Meerut, Bulandashahar, Saharanpur and Muzaffarnagar) in Uttar Pradesh, Ambala district in Haryana, Jullundur in the Panjabi Suba and Bharatpur in Rajasthan. The area marked by the presence of the ochre coloured pottery would measure about 300 kms north-south from Bahadarabad to Noh and 450 kms. west-east from Kalpalaon to Ahichhatra (Krishnadeva-1968).

The ochre coloured pottery is generally supposed to have been inadequately fired and has a tendency of easily getting rubbed off. The pots were washed in ochre colour and hence the name 'The Ochre Coloured Pottery'. About the nature of ware, archaeologists are not unanimous. Dr. Sankalia thinks that the O. C. P. is not a ceramic industry but a condition—possibly due to water-logging in the areas under consideration, the pot-sherds have tended to become fragile and get easily rubbed off (Sankalia-1964). Dr. B. B. Lal (Lal-1968), the Archaeological Chemist of the Archaeological Survey of India, on the other hand, after a careful examination of the O. C. P. sherds from a number of sites contends that (I) the ware is not ill-fired, and its red colour indicates that the firing was done at a sufficiently high temperature in an oxidising atmosphere.

(II) To him the hypothesis of water logging is not clear. He fails to understand why at Baragaon, the effect of water-logging is exhibited only by the O. C. P. and not by the associated wares.

(III) Dr. Lal thinks that the weathering effect on the O. C. P. might have been due to the fact that the O. C. P. remained exposed to atmosphere for a considerable length of time.

Two views outlined above postulate two divergent climatic conditions for the Upper Ganga Valley in the time or after the O. C. P. culture. While the thesis of waterlogging would indicate considerable rainfall, the other would suggest an arid condition. As both the views can not be held correct for one and the same period, it is imperative that more and more material is examined for obtaining a correct picture.

As regard the shapes in the O. C. P., it may be said at the outset that previously on account of paucity of data, no typological study of the pottery could be done. But now the excavations at Bahadarabad, Baragaon, Ambakheri and Atranjikhera have brought a good number of shapes before the archaeologists. The fabric of the pottery though quite alike in general look, is not uniform at all the places and a closer scrutiny attests the existence of both thick and thin varieties. At Atranjikhera the noteworthy types in the thick fabric consist of large troughs, bowl-like lid with central knob, dish-on-stand, vase with flanged rim and oval body, ring-stand, basin with under-cut rim and vase with cord-design, mat-impressions and horizontally raised bands on the exterior. With the thin fabric are associated the long-necked flask, lid with central knob, bowl with slightly outturned rim and bulbous body, miniature cup and vase (Gaur-1964). At Baragaon, the O. C. P. shapes consist of dish on-stand, basins with beaded, beaked, everted or under-cut rim, storage jars with thick clubbed rim,

medium-sized vases with globular body and ring or disc base and bowl-shaped lids with central knob (Krishnadeva-1968). These types are also met with at Ambakheri.

Though previously, in the assemblage of the O.C.P. neither painted or incised sherds were found, the picture has changed and is changing fast in recent years. A few painted sherds from Atranjikhera and Lal-quila bearing painting in black pigment generally over a fine red-slipped surface are available. Gaur (Gaur-1968) reports the following painted designs from Atranjikhera ;

(1) Wide paintings over the shoulder of the vases below the rim.

(2) A thick band either on the lower part of the neck or on the body of vase or vessels.

(3) Parallel bands either on the neck or the body of a pot.

(4) Parallel bands and incised ribs alternately decorated, and

(5) Painting in criss-cross or checkered pattern on the body.

The incised sherds in the O. C. P. assemblage are reported from Atranjikhera, Lal-quila and Manpur in western Uttar Pradesh and Katpalaon in the Panjabi-Suba. From the first mentioned site Gaur (Gaur, 1968) enumerates the following incised designs :

I. Finger-Nail incision on the ribs or cords.

II. Incised ribs or cords with notches.

III. Simple ribs with notches or parallel lines, wavy or straight,

IV. Notches on one side of the rib.

V. Leaf or 'V' shaped pattern.

VI. Simple notches in a row or scattered.

VII. Simple or double grooves with notches.

VIII. Oblique parallel grooves with notches.

IX. Horizontal parallel multiple grooves with or without notches.

X. Grooved wavy lines on the neck.

XI. A row of oblique strokes on the neck.

XII. Zig-zag parallel dashes or straight lines.

XIII. Checked or compartmental patterns.

XIV. Parallel or oblique angular lines.

and

XV. Parallel ribs with incised mark.

From Ambakheri-2 and Bahadarabad only cord-impressed designs have been found.

About the associated finds, it may be mentioned that the data at our disposal are very meagre. From the majority of sites, only pot-sherds have been found. In this context, the site of Ambakheri represents an exception. The terra-cotta figurines of humped-bull, toy-cart and terracotta cakes have been obtained from this site. Recently a few Copper-grains struck to a sherd, probably a piece of crucible and a very small copper-piece have been found from the O. C. P. level at Atranjikhera, demonstrating thereby the copper-association of the Industry (Gaur, 1968).

II

The discovery of copper implements from the upper and central Ganga valley on the one hand and Haryana, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and west-Bengal on

the other, have been reported from time to time. As many of such objects were obtained in hoards, the name 'Copper-Hoards' has been given to them. The tools recovered so far consist of flat, shouldered and bar-celts, hatchet or Parsu, double edged axe, ring, anthropomorphic figure, harpoon, antennae sword, hooked spear-head and a new type of sword with grip recently obtained from Baharia in Shahajahanpur district. Of these, the flat celts and rings being very general types, are not of much technological value. The anthropomorphs, harpoons and antennae swords are confined to the Ganga valley alone. The types like bar and shouldered celts and double-edged axes are found from Plateau zone south of 24·N. latitude. The flat celts are common to both the groups. Heine Geldern is inclined to include the famous Trunion celt of Shalozan, the Fort Munro, sword, shaft hole axes from Chanhu-daro and Shahi-Tump and finally the axe-adze from Mohenjo-daro in assemblage of Copper Hoards (Geldern, 1936). B.B. Lal (Lal, 1951) has successfully controverted this contention of Heine Geldern mainly on three grounds : (I) the Copper-Hoards are Fashioned on Copper, while the aforesaid four objects are manufactured out of Bronze; (II) these types are not found in the Ganga valley; and, conversely, (III) the specialised weapons of the Copper Hoards are confined to the Ganga valley The force of Lal's arguments would exclude the types mentioned by Geldern from our perview of the Copper-Hoards.

Strangely enough, all the Copper-Hoards are chance-discoveries. As such, their stratigraphical horizon has been a disputed point in Indian Archaeology. In this connection, however, we have to keep in mind the

following points :

(I) Of the sites yielding the Copper-Hoards, Rajpur-Parsu, (Lal, 1951), Bisauli (Lal, 1951), Bahadarabad (Sharma, 1961), Nasirpur (Ghosh, 1965-66) and Baharia have also yielded the ochre coloured pottery.

(II) The above-mentioned sites are the single culture-sites with shallow deposits and yielding the O.C.P. sherds exclusively.

These two points considered together provide a strong circumstantial evidence for bracketing the O.C.P. and the Copper-Hoards as the work of one and the same people.

III

The authorship of the Copper-Hoards and along with them that of the O.C.P. is still in a melting pot. Heine Geldern (Geldern, 1936) and following him Stuart Piggott (Piggott, 1944) associated these with the Aryan immigration in India. Piggott subsequently changed his position (Piggott, 1950) and saw in these Hoards the hand of the refugees and the displaced persons of the Harappan empire. Dr. Y. D. Sharma (Sharma, 1961) is also inclined to associate the Copper-Hoards with the Harappans. B. B. Lal (Lal, 1951) on the other hand has associated these mysterious weapons and the O.C.P. with the indigenous people—the Muṇḍās, the Śabaras and the Nisādas—who had inhabited the Ganga valley before the advent of the Aryans on the scene. S. P. Gupta (Gupta, 1963) has supported the indigenous origin theory of Lal. Dr. D. P. Agrawal (Agrawal, 1971) is also inclined to support the same

thesis but he does not rule out the possibility that the inspiration might have come from south-east Asia.

Heine Geldern claims to have found parallels of a few artefacts i. e. trunion axe, Axe-Adze, and Fort Munroe Sword distributed over a wide area—British Isles, Sardinia, Greece and Transcaucasia. According to him these reached India about 1200-1000 B. C. He traced back the antennae sword to the Koban culture and the harpoons to Transcancasia, Talish and Luristan. Since as pointed out earlier, the major artefacts compared by Geldern do not fall under the 'Copper-Hoards', the validity of his conclusion is considerably weakened. Lal has pointed out two fundamental differences in the antennae swords of the 'Copper-Hoards' and their counterparts in the Koban culture. The hilt and blade of the former are the result of the single cast. In the latter the two parts are made separately but joined together. Besides, the Koban specimen is fashioned on bronze, while its Indian parallel on copper. For harpoons the grounds adduced by Geldern are too flimsy to need comment. Even if the parallels cited by Geldcrn are proved to be the works of the Aryans, it would not establish the Aryan authorship of the 'Copper-Hoards'.

Lal (Lal. 1951) and following him S. P. Gupta (Gupta, 1963) have tried to establish the indigenous origin of the Copper-Hoards. Lal draws our attention to the fact that the typical implements of the Copper-Hoards assemblage—the anthropomorphs, antennal sword and the harpoon—are not found outside the Ganga valley. Bar-celts and Harpoons could have been developed out of their stone proto-types. No Harappan object has been found in association with the Copper-Hoards. The hilly tracts of southern Uttar Pradesh, north-eastern Madhya

Pradesh, southern Bihar, western portion of west Bengal and northern Orissa are at present occupied by the Mundas, the Santhals and other tribes belonging to the proto-Austroloid group. Lal points out that it is not unlikely that the ancestors of these people might have been the Śabaras and the Niṣādas of the Vedic literature whom the Aryans encountered in the Ganga valley. As these aborigines were the earliest settlers and the Copper-Hoards are the earliest archaeological relics of the region, both might have been inter-related. Dr. D. P. agrawal (Agrawal, 1971), on the authorities of Dani and Worman, points out that in neolithic times the eastern India and south-east Asia were culturally related. In the light of the recent researches, the beginnings of the Copper-technology can be traced back to 2300 B. C. in Thailand. As such, he does not rule out the possibility of a south-east Asian inspiration for the Copper-Hoards.

Before commenting on the hypotheses of Lal and Agrawal, one has to viewt he problem in its entirety. The Copper-Hoards culture complex has two aspects—the pottery and copper-implements. If we solve the riddle of one, more than half of the battle is over. Let us first engage ourselves with the pottery. Any discussion pertaining to a ceramic industry has to take four points into consideration—the extent, fabric, typology and decorative motifs, i. e. paintings and incisions, etc. Of these, the fabric depends on local factor—the soil of the area in question—and as such it is not of much importance. The extent of the O. C. P. sites indicates their concentration in western Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, Haryana and Panjabi Suba. Alamgirpur in Meerut marks the Eastern limit of the Harappan culture. Viewed against this

background, marginal territonial overlap is discernible between the Harappan and that of the O. C. P. cultures. Hence a Harappan parentage or inspiration for the O. C. P. can not be held as absurdity. But candidly speaking mere proximity is not enough. We have to scrutinize the other factors also.

Typological consideration of the O. C. P. has already been done in the present paper. Strangely enough, the excavations conducted so far in the Upper Ganga valley and the adjoining regions have not brought to light the survivals of the O. C. P. shapes in the subsequent cultures, but the same statement is not valid for its precedents also. In this context, it may be pointed out that a comparative typological consideration of the Mature Harappan and the O. C. P. shapes would be disappointing as two are separated both geographically and chronologically. The present archaeological findings, however, indicate a gradual modification in the Harappan pottery types. The picture can be well understood by a typological study of the Harappa, Rupar and Bara materials. Under the circumstances, the O. C. P. shapes, if traceable at all, can be traced in the Late Harappan assemblage of western Uttar Pradesh and the adjoining regions. In this context, the following points deserve due attention :

(I) Alamgirpur shares some typical shapes, i. e. the Indus goblet, the cylindrical beaker with slightly flaring rim, the perforated brazier, the bell-shaped beaker with disc base, the ring-stand and the large carinated dish-on-stand with the Harappan sites (Ghosh, 1958-59).

(II) The O. C. P. is conspicuous by its absence at Alamgirpur.

(III) At Ambakheri in Saharanpur district, though typical Harappan shapes are absent, their derivatives such as the short-stemed dish-on-stand are encountered at. The majority of the Ambakheri pottery types in the O. C. P. can be traced back to the Late Harappan assemblage of Alamgirpur (Krishnadeva-1968).

(IV) Geographical situation of Alamgirpur in Meerut district of western Uttar Pradesh suggests that it would have derived Harappan influence earlier than the sites lying to the east of it.

(V) A majority of Bara types can be seen in the Late Harappan and ochre coloured Pottery complex of the Ganga-Yamuna Doab. The vase with splayed out rim, dish-on-stand with drooping rim, basin, hollow lid with central knob and large storage jars with rusticated surface recovered from the excavations at Ambakheri have parallels at Bara and also at Late Harappan sites in Saharanpur (Dikshit-1968a).

The ochre coloured pottery shares many a type with the Late Harappan ware of Rupar, Bara, Alamgirpur and Baragaon, etc. such as dish-on-stand, lid with central knob and cord impressed designs.

Regarding the painting and incisions, in the O.C.P. it may be admitted that evidence at our disposal is too scanty to encourage a discussion. Presence of painting has lately been recognised in the O. C. P. assemblage and motifs are few and far between. The incised designs like sigmas, chevrons, compartmental designs and wavy lines from Atranjikhera have a remote resemblance with the similar pattern at Bara (Dikshit, 1968a).

In the light of the aforesaid discussion it may be observed that as the Rubar IB represents the continuation of the Rupar-IA, the emergence of the O. C. P. may

suggest the emergence of a still new phase of the Late Harappan pottery. It is not unlikely if the O. C. P. represents the last flicker of the Harappan culture.

Coming to the 'Copper-Hoards' it may be said even at the risk of repetition that the types collected so far include the flat, bar and shouldered celt, hatchet or Parsu, double-edged axe, ring, anthropomorphic figure harpoon, antennae sword, hooked spearhead and the Baharia type of sword.

On technological consideration, it has been found that barring the anthropomorph and the ring, all the specimens are cast. 'The authors of the 'Hoards' were familiar with open mould and closed or double mould techniques and probably did not know alloying or annealing and cold work for hardening the tools'. The presence of a strong medial rib in harpoon, hooked spearhead and antennae sword is a marked feature of the Doab Hoards.

Gupta, on account of the simple nature of the tools and availability of copper-ores in the area, thinks that the tools of the eastern or Plateau zone might be earlier than those of the Doab in point of time. But for the Plateau zone as it would have been, the shouldered and the flat celts would have been excellent cutting tools and the bar-celt a good mining tool (Agrawal-71). As such it is not unlikely that the nature of the Plateau tools would have been decided by ecological factor alone. In the present state of knowledge, it would be extremely a difficult task to point out the chronological priority of any group of the Copper-Hoards.

Till now the following four types of the Copper-Hoards have been claimed to have been found in the Late

Harappan contexts :

(I) A copper-ring of the type familiar from Pondi and Bahadarabad has been found from Baragaon in the Late Harappan context.

(II) A broken anthropomorph has been found in excavation from the upper most deposit of Lothal.

(III) The flat celts of the Copper-Hoards and Harappan-culture are alike.

(IV) A harpoon with broken blade and a ring were found at Mitathal at a depth of 0.30 m. from the surface, presumably in a Late Harappan context (Dikshit, 1968b).

Of these Dr. Agrawal does not accept the suggested identification of (II) while to him the rings and celts are too simple to comment. But still their occurrence in a Late Harappan context is noteworthy.

The absence of mid-ribbed weapons in the toolknit of the Harappan culture has not got unnoticed by Marshall (Marshall-1931), but Mackay in course of his excavations at Mohenjodaro (Mackay, 1937) found six implements—daggers, knives and dishes—from the Upper-levels. At Harappa too (Vats, 1940) two spearheads with mid-rib from strata II and IV with a depth of 0.90 m. and 3.00 m. respectively from the surface were obtained. Do these occurrences suggest the introduction of the mid-rib technique in the late phase of the Harappan culture ? If the answer be affirmative, we may trace back the copper.Hoard specimens with mid-rib to the Harappan inspiration, since the implements cited

from Mohenjo-daro and Harappa are the earliest representatives of this class on Indian soil.

It is concluded that for the specialised weapons of the Doab Copper-Hoards—the anthropomorphs, the hooked spearheads, the antennae sword and the harpoons, the Harappan parentage has not been traced out but simply on this account their emergence from the Late Harappan meleau can not be ruled out. The nature and variety of the tools and weapons of the ancient communities have always to be viewed against ecology. The Harappan culture zone was an arid zone, but so was not the Ganga-valley. The implements of the 'Copper-Hoards' of the Doab were meant for the people living in the densely forested country of the Ganga valley. The refugees and the displaced persons of the Harappa culture had to face a new situation in this area. Urge of survival would have compelled these new settlers to adjust themselves with their new surroundings. The Harappan refugees accepted the challenge of their new set-up and perhaps in imitation to the tool-knit of the aboriginal people, the copper copies were brought forth. Contrary to this if we associate these implements with aborigines of the Ganga valley before the coming of the Aryans, as Lal and Gupta have done, we have to account for the developed tools like harpoons and antennae sword which presuppose the years of exercises in copper—metallurgy with which these aborigines can not be credited in the present state of our knowledge. It is, of course, a difficult task to peep into the past of the Ganga valley at the crucial time when the hordes of the homeless Harappans were knocking at its gate. The archaeological record is very dismal. No relic has so for been obtained from the Upper Ganga valley which can be dated to a period

earlier than the introduction of the Late Harappan or the O. C. P. on the scene. As such, it would be a rather bold endeavour to ascribe the authroship of the antennae sword and harpoons to the aborgines. If on the other hand we introduce the Harappans on the scene, many of our tangles are solved. The Harappans were familiar with cooper-metallurgy and various techniques involved therein, i. e. the open mould and double mould techniques etc. . New weapons were in response to the challenge posed by the new situation. The old tools, not suited to new environment, would have been discarded. If copper used by the Harappans and the 'Copper-Hoard' people differ in composition, it might be due to the reason that the old supply—line would have been disrupted and consequently the Copper-Hoard people would have discovered fresh source for obtaining their raw material.

The hypothetical south-east Asian inspiration theory of Dr. Agrawal (Agrawal-1971) has no chronological draw-back since the discovery of Copper-technology in Thailand as early as 2300 B. C. But mere presence of Copper-implements in two separate areas is not enough to suggest their interrelation. The techniques involved in the manufacture of the tools have also to be studied carefully. Absence of Copper-implements in the intervening areas, i. e. Burma, Assam and Bangladesh has also to be accounted for.

To sum up, the recent archaeological findings of the Upper Ganga valley suggest that the Copper-Hoards and the O. C. P. may be related with the last phase of the Harappan culture. But in the present state of our knowledge this problem is still open for debate and

discussion and it would be premature to pass the final judgment.

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RELEVANCE OF THE INDIAN CONCEPT OF CIVILISATION IN THE MODERN CONTEXT

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The standard scales by which we measure a civilization differ from culture to culture, because howsoever abstract and ideal they be, they are dependent on the structure of the particular language in which they are expressed, as Baghy aptly remarks, 'Our own ideas and values are embedded in language, and yet our language is the only tool we have with which to describe alien ideas and Values'[1]. Let us take for example the word *civilization* itself. *Civilization* as a Western concept is essentially the culture of cities; in other words it is 'a process of refinement of the individual with perhaps more emphasis on the social graces.'[2] Thus the very concept of civilization is derived from the cities. The counterpart of this concept in Indian languages is *Sabhyatā,* a word derived from *Sabhā*, etymologically meaning, shining together, later meaning an *assembly of men* or even more precisely an assembly of men in harmony. *Sabhā* and *Samiti* are called upon as the twin daughters of the creator.[3] Sabhā is invoked

1. Philip Baghy, *Culture and History,* p. 191.

2. Ibid., p. 74

3. Sabhā ca mā samitiscāvatām prajāpater duhitarau saṃvidane /
Yenā saṅgacchā upa mā sa śikṣāccāru vadāmi pitaraḥ saṅgateṣu //

A. V. VII. 12·1

The twin daughters of the Prajāpati (creator), Sabhā and Samiti (Assembly and Council), full of understanding may protect us so that He may educate us in the art of learning together and we may address the elders in a sweet manner.

to be producer of a congenial atmosphere.[4] As such the basis of the concept of *Sabhyatā* is living together in harmony. Harmony of mind, action and speech is an oft-repeated Vedic *prayer*.

The very layout of a Vedic village (*grāma*) was based on harmony; every thing emanated from the centre in the same way as the *ṛta* (the cosmic order) emanates from *satya* (the Eternal Truth), the centre holds the circle and the circle holds the centre. It is not a one way movement from 'outwards into the unity of a nation and into a single term of fixed, closed border lines'; it is simultaneously an expansion from an intensive nucleus into vague unlimited forms of growth and uncertain periphery'[5] and an inversion into the inner soul of existence. The Indian concept of *Sabhyatā* is not so much refinement, as it is an attempt to reseek the rhythm of existence. The minimal Social unit is *family* and not the individual and the minimal political unit is *grāma*, where a group of family resides as one big family, in other words *grāma* concept is an expansion of the family-concept[6] and as such it underlies perfect internal harmony; this is why this term was borrowed in music to denote *harmony*.

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4. Vidma te sabhe nāma nariṣṭā nāma vā asi /
ye te ke ca sabhāsadaste me santu savacasaḥ //
A. V. VII. 12.2

We know you, Sabhā, you are auspicious by very name. May your members converse with me.

5. B. Heimann, *Facets of Indian Thought*, p. 29.

6. Yathā Kuṭumbinaḥ sarva ekī bhūtā vasanti hi /
sarvalokasya sa grāmo yatrā nityaṃ vyavasthitiḥ //
Verse ascribed to Mataṇga in the Saṅgīta Sudhākara, Commentary of Siṅha bhūpāla on *Saṅgīta Ratnākara* I.4.5.

Urban sophistication is rather an essential trait of a dandy (nāgara) than of a civilized person, who may even be *uncouth* in appearance but endowed with understanding of the inherent harmony in things sentient as well as nonsentient. It is not that urbanity is an alien element in Indian culture; on the contrary urbanity is indigenous to the Soil, history of cities going far back to the Indus Valley Civilization, but urbanity was subjugated to higher values of cultural growth and did not remain as the sole measure of civilization.

These higher values emphasize the simultaneous coexistence of many worlds and deny uniqueness or absolute value of any one of them, every appearance being just a fact of a crystal, none of them alone being able to give a whole picture. This emphasis obviously implies an innate toterance towards other viewpoints and a ready acceptance, not a repulsion of new ideas[7] and a clear conception of interrelatedness of things is gradually developed; this extends to chemistry, astronomy and civil engineering on one side and to art and literature on the other. This is the reason why a Westerner cannot grasp the dynamic rhythm of intertwined congruent or divergent bodies of Man, animal and plant in Indian Sculpture and cannot relish the seemingly repetitious nature—poetry in Sanskrit. He fails to appreciate this rhythm because his notion of aesthetic order is static and unique. Man stands at the top in his universe and the rest existence is subservient to him. Furthermore Man Stands in Time and space, they are real dimensions of Man in the West, his achievements are distanced landmarks in history, they are not one *string* so to say. On the contrary Time by itself is not

7. B. Heimann, op. cit., p. 22.

the driving force behind the creature process (in fact creation itself did not take place within time) and it is just a *modal* appearance of the creature process. According to Abhinavagupta, the main exponent of Indian Aesthetics, Being is 'neither merely an atemporal visualization of itself nor an absolute separation from time and space, but is the realization of itself as a separable on one plane and the potentiality of being involved in Time and space on the other.[8] The Indian view does not reject history, it transcends, it differs from the primitive cyclic notion of Time in as much as it is not confined to a mere process of *periodic* abolition of the creature and of going back to the atemporal instant of the beginning and it differs from the Western presumption with the notion that life and reality are history and history alone in as much as it rejects the notion of a final and irreducible human destiny. In short, whereas in Indian thought human existence is at the same time atemporal or timeless and temporal or placed in Time, in Western thought man is historically situated and Time (or in other words the historical aspect of human existence), is charged with significance for men because human life is lived under the shadow of Time.[9] The relevance of this aspect of Indian thought is particularly in the modern predicament when confronted with the depersonated aspect of technology. Modern man "has received the impression of losing his footing, of finding himself without support, and has known a panic, terror and believed himself to be sinking, making shipwork in the void."[10] If a solution of this

8. V.N. Misra, "Time in Modern Hindi Poetry", *Proceedings of the 26th International Congress of Orientalists.*

9. Ibid.

10. Jose Ortega of Gasset, *History as a system*, pp. 182-3

predicament is to be found, it is not in reasseition of freedom from the physical or the natural approach to the human element[11], as this is likely to lead to further chaos and confusion, for neither the pace of Science cannot be stopped nor human mind can be restrained from searching new horizons and denial of this hard reality will take us nowhere ; this solution is to be found in a system of thought which can adjust itself to both intellectual as well as emotional needs, to growth of science and to furtherance of universal humanism, to infinite Time and to segmented Time and finally on the metaphysical plane to the Macro-cosmos and to the Micro-cosmos. Such a system of thought could only emanate from the Indian material. The Western thinker can find it hard to reconcile that Christ is the son of God and at the same time a historical figure, he is the very personification of the fulfilment of a great historical purpose, and he is the very cessation of history[12] ; but for an Indian thinker it is a very simple matter, the Christ as saviour is an atemporal reality and the christ as an individual is a historical event more relevent to the recorder of facts than to mankind in general. Rāma and Kṛṣṇa are real as living reality, a reality which is ever evolving, a reality which is happening within Man (and not a chosen people) and within universe simultaneously and they are completely unreal as historical events, as historical figures they are mere shadows and are no concern of the people. The corresponding word for history, *itihāsa* means 'so it has been' and not

11. Ibid.

12. For detailed discussion, see "Earliest Chirstianity", *The Idea of History in the Ancient Near East*, pp. 205—214

'so it was', for the 'so it was' aspect is neither relevant nor real, utmost it can be a reconstructed point in a continuum, but the 'so it has been' is relevant and real. This attitude towards history makes the Indian Society a tradition-bound but free Society, free from *inhibitions* of race (race declared as indeterminable and therefore irrelevent in a human context), creed, nationality and subsequently historical obligations. Obligations there are, but they are to the Cosmic Being at one end and to the immediate ancestors at the other, the seekers of Truth and the dynamic aspects of the Cosmic Being intervening between the two.[13] This is the reason why there is a great feeling for home, for the cosy and the warm hearth, for Fire-god the embodiment of concreteness and intimacy[14] on one hand and a great reverence for the nebulous universe, for the immeasurable infinite, for the great substratum of the seed of creation[15]—the cosmic Waters—for the unseen Vāk, the embodiment of abstraction and awe-inspiring distance on the other. Fire and water therefore play an important role in the Indian ritual, home and altar standing as manifestations of the known and the unknown aspects of the great Being[16], lotus and

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13. V. N. Misra, "The Social Aspect of the Bhakti Movement", *Mankind*, Vol.X—2 p. 27

14. Sūnṛtāvantaḥ subhagā irāvanto hasāmudāḥ /
Atṛṣyā akṣudhyasta gṛhā māsmad bibhītana //
A.V. VII 60.6

"O homes endowed with Sweet speech, splendour wisdom and rejoicings, be emancipated from thirst and from hunger and do not apprehend any danger when we return to you, we are what you want in us."

15. mama yonirapsvantaḥ samudre. RV X. 125-7 (My cradle is in the waters of the ocean).

16. F. D. K. Bosct, *The Golden Germ*, p. 59.

swan motif in Indian painting or sculptural design is their presentation of interweaving of seemingly two extremes. There is no incongruity in Indian thought on this account that the Brahman is a single Being with two natures (*dvaibhāvaḥ*) ; as these two natures do not stand in opposition to each other they serve as mutually complements and are in complementary distribution, so to say. It is not Man (*nara*) alone who is dependent on *Nārāyaṇa,* the Universal Being, for his existence, but the universal Being (*Nārāyaṇa*) himself has to descend as Man (*Nara*) in order to fulfill his obligation to Man in his service.[17] Emancipation from bondage of the cycle of life and death is a lesser reward in comparison to the reward sought for by the saint—the pleasure of working with god for the emancipation of human suffering.[18] This two-way movement reconciles all contradictions and apparent divergences.

From the very beginning of Indian civilization, we find this two-way process of interaction at various levels. At the level of language we find that Sanskrit borrows freely from the Dravidian and Munda langauges, and vice versa the Dravidian and the Munda languages enrich their vocabulary with loan words from Sanskrit. Within its own group of languages Sanskrit clearly manifests influences of Prākrits, words like *jyoti, vikaṭa, nirjhara* are

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17. "Avatareu apane bhagata hita nijatantra nita raghukula-manī "——Tulsidas-Ram Carit Manas I/57

18. Na tvahaṃ kāmaye rājyam na svargam na punarbhavaṃ /
Kāmaye duḥkhataptānāṃ kevalamārtināśanam" //

I do not aspire for earthly kingdom, nor for Heavenly kingdom and nor for cessation of birth. I aspire only for my usefulness in dispelling misery. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa.*

definite evidence of Prakritisms[19] within Sanskrit and the Middle Indian and Modern Indo-Aryan dialects have always freely borrowed from Sanskrit from time to time, whenever a necessity of cultural re-integration arose. At the literary level we find clear evidence (right from the age of Kālidāsa) of interaction of the Shastric and the folk traditions and of equal respectability given to each of them.[20] At the artistic level we find both mārgī (classical) and deśī trends working in music[21] and *nāṭyadharmī* (suggestive) and *lokadharmī* (realistic) conventions given equal importance in the field of performing arts.[22] At the socio-religious level we find an interplay between the Great and the Little traditions, the Little tradition being elevated to the position of Great tradition by giving a Scholastic formulation of its ideas, gods and rituals and not by being absorbed in the Great tradition; and the Great tradition by becoming diffused so as to invoke emotional response from the populace and subsequently

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19. S. M. Katre, *Prakṛt languages and Their contribution to Indian culture*, pp. 66.67

20. Dvīdhā prayuktena ca vāṅmayena Sarasvatī tanmithunaṃ nunāva / Saṃskārapūtena varaṃ vareṇyaṃ vadhūṃ sukhagrāhya nibandhanena // *Kumāra Sambhavam* Canto VII

"The Goddess of speech sang in praise of the couple (Śiva and Pārvatī) in a twofold medium ; she sang the glory of the revered bridegroom in Sanskrit, purified and delicate, bride in Prakrit—a medium easy to grasp."

21. Mārgo deśīti tad dvedhā tathā mārgaḥ sa ucyate /
yo mārgito Viriñcyādyaiḥ prayukto Bharatādibhiḥ //
Devasya purataḥ Śaṁbhorniyatābhyudayapradaḥ /
deśe deśe janānām yadrucyā hṛdayarañjakaṃ //
Saṅgīta Ratnākara I. 1.22—23

22. K. Vatsyayan, *Classical Indian Dance in Literature and the Arts*, p. 9.

by coming at par with the Little tradition.[23] The emphasis on elaboration of the message of the Vedas through the popular Purāṇas and Itihāsa stands in complementation of that on search of a Vedic source for every form of worship, every legend and every socio- religious concept. This particular trait in Indian thought has a special relevance in the modern context, where we find an irreconcilable conflict raging between the urban and the rural, the industrial and the agricultural societies, the mass and the individual cults, the technological knowledge and humanities, every conflict aiming at the complete annihilation of the weaker adversary. The Indian mind would not like to juxtapose these pairs as opposites, it would rearrange them on two different levels and resolve the conflict. In fact early Indian history has been misread as a history of conflict between the invaders and the inhabitants, but what has happened in India is rather a two-way process of 'interchange and acculturation' than a process of complete extinction or absorption and I am in total agreement with the premise of S. C. Malik that "We can eliminate such possiblities as the biological extinction or dispersion of the Harappans into obscurity, or the absorption of the nature society into the conquering Aryan hordes or even that of war of all non-Aryans against all Aryans until extinction."[24] ! The wide gulf between

23. V. N. Misra, Loc. cit. The great tradition properly so called is and was always constantly reshaped by the process of elevation of a mass cult to a prestige cult. Now this recognition by the traditionalistic elite of popular religious movements is not motivated by a desire to stoop to conquer. Thus it did not result in absorption of the identity of the folk movements (as Srinvias assumes). Such movements, on the contrary, have given more than received in terms of change, which they brought in the total structure of values.

24. S. C. Malik, *Indian Civitization—The Formative Period*, pp. 142—143.

India and the West is not due to India's unawareness of the West but due to the West's misreading of India. India does not reject history, it nearely transcends it and builds a superstructure of tradition, a two-way process of acceptance of new ideas and revaluation of the old ones; history is linear and uni-directional. While tradition is curvilinear and multi-directional going back and forth and slowly raising itself a little higher. Hence (to quote Malik again) it is tradition that educates and governs the values, atititudes and behaviour of this basic Individual (*the commoner in India*), and despite the beginnings of incipient industrial urbanization in India, we are far from being termed as a 'transitional' Society ! [25] If India has never been concerned with national feelings, it is her strength and not weakness. The focus of the Indian Social concept as mentioned earlier is either the whole Cosmos or the small well-knit organization of family. The Indian insistence on the 'Universal' rather than on the 'general' and on the very very particular at the sametime can contribute to a better understanding of diverse cultures, and instead of bringing the World under the aegis of one culture as aspired by historians like Toynbee, it can do better by inculcating respect for truth, humility, toleration;[26] by encouraging far more accurate and objective scholarship going beyond national considerations, without being conscions of doing so.

To sum up, the Indian concept of civilization is wide enough to include urbanity and to go much beyond urban refinement in search of inherent harmony.

25. Ibid, p. *174*.

26. Sri Isaiah Berlin's letter quoted in *The Problems of Civilizations*, p. 48.

Indian attitude towards history is that of compassion rather than either of rejection or total surrender and as such is far more useful in bridging the gulf between narrow national and racial outlooks. Indian society has always been undergoing a two-way proces of interplay of the shastric (scholastic) or the Great and the folk or the Little tradtions, so that a balance has always been maintained. Indian mind has long since been freed of fear of external forces or forces created by Man himself, because it has sought highest pleasure in identifying oneself with misery and bondage of others even after attaining highest bliss and emancipation. Indian ethics are built upon this concept of total identification and not on equality, which is a superficial aim compared to it.

These viewpoints are relevant in the modern context when there is a pressing need for one World. The Indian solution would resolve the world-conflict without levelling the differences between various modes and aspirations through a broader understanding and tolerance and a deeper quest for truth yet to be achieved.

'*Ahamanṛtād Satyamupaimi.*' From the direction of falsehood, I come closer to Truth.

Indian attitude towards history is that of compassion rather than either of rejection or total surrender and as such is far more useful in bridging the gulf between narrow national and racial outlooks. Indian society has always been undergoing a two-way process of interplay of the classic tradition or the Great and the folk or the Little traditions, so that a balance has always been maintained. Indian mind has long since been freed of fear of external forces or forces created by Man himself because it has sought highest pleasure in identifying oneself with misery and bondage of others even after attaining highest bliss and emancipation. Indian ethics are built upon this concept of total identification and not on equality, which is a superficial aim compared to it.

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'*Asatomā Sadgamaya*! From the direction of Falsehood, I come closer to Truth.'